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Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture

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EXPANSION OF INDO-ARYAN CULTURE

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EXPANSION OF INDO-ARYAN CULTURE

EXPANSION OF INDO-ARYAN CULTURE

During Pallava Rule

(as evidenced by inscriptions)

To Dr. B. N. Puri
with the best compliments of
B. Ch. Chhabra
26. iv. 65

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To
my cousin
Dr. Sunder Lal Hora

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.S.B.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
A.R.A.S.I.; A.S.I.	Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India
Acta Orient.	Acta Orientalia
An. Bibl. I.A.	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology
An. du Musée Guimet.	Annals du Musée Guimet
An. Rep. S.I.Ep.	Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy
Beals, Records	Buddhist Records of the Western World
BEFEO	Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise D'Extrême-Orient
Bergaigne Corpus	Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge
Ceyl. Anti.	Ceylonese Antiquary
Cey. Jour. of Science	Ceylon Journal of Science
Epi. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica
E. Z.; Epi. Zeyl.	Epigraphia Zeylanica
Gupta Inscr.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III Inscriptions of Early Gupta Kings and their successors.
Hind.-Jav. Gesch.	Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis
Hist. Inscr. South Ind.	Historical Inscriptions of South India
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary
Ind. Cult, etc., Ind. Cultur. Influ. in Cambodia.	Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia

Inl. Hindoe-Java. Kunst	Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst
Inleid.t.d.Studie v.h. Oud-Javaansch	Inleiding tot de Studie van het Oud-Javaansch
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
Jour. Ind. Art and Letters	(Journal of the India Society) Indian Art and Letters
Jour. Gr. Ind. Soc.	Journal of Greater India Society
JRAS, Malayan Branch	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
Memoirs Arch. Surv. India	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
Mys. Arch. Rep.	Mysore Archaeological Reports
Oudh. Dienst	Oudheidkundige Dienst
Oudh. Versl.	Oudheidkundig Verslag
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions
Tijdschr.	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
Versl. en. Medel.der Konink. Akad. v Wetensch. afd. Letter.	Verslag en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde
Verspr. Geschr.	Verspreide Geschriften

PREFACE

Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture is the thesis on which the author was awarded the degree of Ph.D. by the State University of Leyden, Holland, early in 1934. It has the rare distinction of being re-issued, now for the first time in a book form, after thirty years. Originally, for the purpose of presentation and distribution, it was mimeographed. The mimeographed copies did not have any illustrations at all. Later on, it appeared as 'a comprehensive article'—the very first article of the very first volume of the New Series of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, 1935, pp. 1-64. This contains seven illustrations.

The idea was subsequently to publish the thesis, as a book, in a revised and enlarged form, to which the authorities of the said Asiatic Society readily consented. For years, however, the idea remained shelved, owing mainly to the author's other preoccupations. Besides, as a part of the scheme, he started making elaborate plans, involving tours to the countries concerned with a view to verifying the disputed readings of certain inscriptions by comparing the originals. But these plans proved far too ambitious to be fulfilled.

In the meantime, it was encouraging to find that this modest thesis continued attracting attention and was constantly referred to by scholars, Dutch, English, French and Indian, engaged on the studies of the cultural history of the countries of South-East Asia. When the author had occasion to visit Java and Bali in 1960, as a visiting professor, he was often approached by teachers and students for copies of this thesis; but he had to disappoint them, as no copies were available. He sensed that there was a great demand, specially in Indonesia, for books in English on the subject of their cultural history. And the present thesis, to quote the late lamented Dutch archæologist Dr. W. F.

Stutterheim, 'is an important contribution to the archæology of Indonesia.'

It goes without saying that during the past thirty years great advances have been made in the researches concerning the history both of India and of those countries of South-East Asia that share her culture. We now know much more about the Pallavas of South India as also about the spread of Indo-Aryan culture. There is indeed material enough now for filling fresh volumes, not to speak of recasting old ones.

Yet it has been thought fit to re-issue the present thesis substantially in its original form for two main reasons: in the first place, it should be available to scholars and students in that very original form in which it has, from time to time, been reviewed, criticised, commented upon and referred to by various authors in their publications; secondly, the difference between then and now is more of quantity than of quality. The pivotal theme of the thesis is *Pallava influence*, and that stands vindicated, in the opinion of the author, even by the additional evidence that has been made available subsequent to the time when this thesis was first propounded.

All the same, this re-issue has been enriched by many more illustrations, an appendix containing information about some important additional inscriptions, and an index at the end.

The scope of the thesis, it need hardly be mentioned, is very limited, as its full title clearly indicates: *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture During Pallava Rule as Evidenced by Inscriptions.* It deals mainly with those of the early and important stone inscriptions that have previously been published chiefly by Dutch and French scholars, and about the readings and interpretation of which, here and there, there was some doubt. To what extent such doubts have been cleared, and how far the suggested interpretations have contributed to the true understanding of the history will be evident only from a perusal of the thesis itself.

Finally, the author wishes to express his deep gratitude to the authorities of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, for their kind permission. He is equally thankful to Messrs Munshiram Manoharlal, a leading firm of publishers in India, specially of books on oriental subjects, for having undertaken the task of publishing this thesis. They have made a good job of it, and have thereby rendered a useful service to the scholarly world.

His thanks are also due to Shri B. Datta, Epigraphical Assistant, Archæological Survey of India, for the preparation of the Index as also for going through the proofs.

New Delhi,
Basant-Panchami, January 19, 1964.

B. Ch. Chhabra

EXPANSION OF INDO-ARYAN CULTURE

During Pallava Rule

(as evidenced by inscriptions)

The Pallavas

Some fifty years ago,[1] hardly anything was known about the dynasty of the Pallavas who for many centuries held sway over the coast of Coromandel, although their architectural monuments,[2] especially those at Conjeeveram (Kāñcîpuram) and Mavalivaram (Mahāmallapuram),[3] had excited the admiration of travellers.[4] Since then the history of this forgotten empire has gradually been built up mostly from its own epigraphical records,[5] a fairly large number of which has in the meantime come to light. While it is now possible to write a consecutive account of the Pallavas,[1] there still remains a great deal of uncertainty, chiefly with reference to the beginnings and the early history of their rule. This is due to various causes: (*a*) the inscriptions are dated not in any known era, but in regnal years; (*b*) some of the royal names occur repeatedly, while almost each of them has again a number of *birudas* or 'subsidiary names' added to it; and (*c*) hardly any reference to the Pallavas is made in contemporary epigraphical records, literature or itineraries.

---

[1] This was in 1934 when the work was originally presented as Thesis for the Degree of Ph.D. of the State University of Leyden, Holland.

[2] J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *Cave Temples in India;* A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture* (*Memoirs Arch. Surv. Ind.*, Nos. 17, 33, 40); A. Rea, *Pallava Architecture;* etc.

[3] Some writers give *Mahābalipuram* as its Sanskrit equivalent, but that is confusing; for, the place was evidently named after its founder *Mahāmalla* Narasiṁhavarman I.

[4] Some travellers like the Venetian adventurer Nicolao Manucci and Jacob Haafner, a servant of the Dutch East-India Company, have left an account of the monuments of Mavalivaram. *Cf.* J. Ph. Vogel, *A.S.I.*, 1910-11, p. 49, and *Bijdragen*, LXXIV (1918) p. 177.

[5] Hultzsch, *South Ind. Inscr.*, Vols. I-V; R. Sewell and S. K. Aiyangar, *Hist. Inscr. South Ind.*, 1932.

In view of the limited scope of this work, it is not necessary to enter into discussions on the several controversial points regarding the history of the Pallavas, but a brief sketch, mainly based on Mr. Gopalan's *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi,* is given here to facilitate references.

Starting from *c.* 200 A.D. the Pallava power gradually rises to a mighty empire in Southern India. It reaches its climax in the 7th century. Thence begins its decline, and after the 9th century it is no more heard of.[2]

The epigraphical records during the period from *c.* 200 to *c.* 350 A.D. are very scanty, being limited to three Prākrit charters.[3] They are, on palæographical grounds, assigned to the first half of the 4th century. The donor, Śivaskandavarman, is styled *dharmamahārājādhirāja*[4] and is stated to have performed the sacrifices *agniṣṭoma, vājapeya* and *aśvamedha*.[1] Mahārāja Bappa-svāmin, presumably Skandavarman's father, is praised for having previously made munificent gifts. It is also clear from these charters that the Pallava dominions at that time extended from Kāñcî as far north as the river Kistna (Kṛṣṇā) in the Telugu land.

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[1] *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi,* Madras, 1928, by R. Gopalan is such an attempt. Some more recent works are: Rev. H. Heras, *The Pallava Genealogy,* Bombay, 1931, and *Studies in Pallava History,* Madras, 1933; K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India,* 150 A.D. *to* 350 A.D., Lahore, 1933 (especially the chapter on the Pallavas).

[2] On page 1 Mr. Gopalan says about the Pallavas: 'The dominant South Indian power for about seven centuries', *viz.* c. 200 to c. 900 A.D. It is questionable whether the expression used can rightly be applied to the Pallavas during the first 2 or 3 centuries of their existence.

[3] Mayidavolu (*Epi. Ind.,* VI, pp. 84ff.), Hirahadagalli (*Epi. Ind.,* Vol. I, pp. 2ff.) and British Museum (Fleet, *Ind. Ant.,* IX, pp. 101ff. and Hultzsch, *Epi. Ind.,* VIII, pp. 143ff.).

[4] About the same time in *Campā,* the king Bhadravarman assumed the title *dharmmamahārāja.* *Cf.* Cho Dinh Rock Inscr. ed. by M. Bergeigne (*Corpus.* No. XXI, p. 199; R. C. Majumdar, *Champa,* Inscr. No. 2).

In the *praśasti* on the Allahabad pillar,[2] the list of the southern rulers, that surrendered to Samudragupta, includes Kāñceyaka (*i.e.* belonging to Kāñcî) Viṣṇugopa. This was evidently one of the Pallava kings coming after Skandavarman. As a contemporary of Samudragupta, he must have lived in the middle of the 4th century.

For the next period from *c.* 350 to *c.* 850 A.D. we possess a series of Sanskrit charters[3] which allow us to establish a list of the Pallava kings in order of succession. Most of the later records are composed partly in Tamil as well. Four or five of them, of the 7th-9th centuries, furnish a complete genealogy of the earlier sovereigns. From the 7th century onwards, besides copper-plate charters, inscriptions on stone also begin to appear.

After Viṣṇugopa the Pallava chronology continues to be uncertain, and the relation between the Pallava kings of the Prākrit and those of the Sanskrit charters is far from clear. Meanwhile an important synchronism is supplied by *Lokavibhāga*,[4] a Digambara Jain work by Siṁhasūri. It is mentioned there that one Sarvanandi copied it in the Śaka year 380 which is stated to correspond to the 22nd regnal year of Siṁhavarman, the king of Kāñcî. This gives the year 436 A.D. as the initial date of the reign of this ruler. Further particulars regarding this king Siṁhavarman are, however, still wanting. Nor has his identity so far been established beyond doubt.[5]

We are on comparatively safe ground from Siṁhaviṣṇu

---

[1] The original being: *aggitthomavājapeyassamedhayājī dhammamahārājādhirājo Bhāraddāyo Pallavāna Sivakhaṁdavamo*, etc.

[2] Fleet, *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 13.

[3] Gopalan's *History*, p. 41, where the chief ones are enumerated.

[4] Discovered and noticed by R. Narasimhacharya in *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1909-1910, p. 45.

[5] Gopalan's *History*, pp. 43, 66.

(*c*. 575–*c*. 600 A.D.) onwards. He and his direct descendants until *c*. 800 A.D. form the line of Siṁhaviṣṇu and are distinguished as the Great Pallavas; for, it is they who were the founders of many rock-cut shrines and structural temples—magnificent specimens of sculptural ornamentation. From these famous monuments of the Pallavas, the later Dravidian art of Southern India takes its origin.

Siṁhaviṣṇu, also known as Avanisiṁha, waged wars against the Coḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and their allies. He advanced as far south as the delta of the Kāverî, and annexed that part of the country to his dominions. A sculptural representation of this warlike prince, attended by his two queens, is found, in bas-relief, in the northern niche of a cave-temple, known as the Ādivarāha Maṇḍapa, at Mavalivaram.

His son and successor, Mahendravarman I (*c*. 600–*c*. 630 A.D.) is the most remarkable of the Pallava monarchs. An ardent Jain in his earlier life, he was later persuaded by one Appar to worship Śiva. Herein, too, he displayed immense zeal, as is evident from the numerous rock-cut Śiva temples excavated by him at Vallam, Mahendravāḍi, Daḷavānūr, Siyyamangalam and Pallāvaram. It was at his initiative that entire temples began to be hewn out of the living rock. His æsthetic taste found expression likewise in other arts; for, he himself was a poet and a musician. He is the author of the burlesque *Mattavilāsaprahasana* and is also associated with the so-called 'Musical Inscription' at Pudukkotta. His various *birudas,* such as *mattavilāsa, guṇabhara, vicitracitta, lalitāṅkura* and the like, seem to allude to these accomplishments. His long reign was, however, not marked out by the arts of peace alone. He had to experience military encounters as well. In his days there commenced that deadly enmity with the Cāḷukyas which continued for a century and a half and resulted in the ultimate extinction of both the dynasties. Pulikeśin II (609–642 A.D.) of the Cāḷukya dynasty conquered Vengi, the northern-most territory of the Pallavas, lying between the mouths of the Kistna (Kṛṣṇā) and Godāvarî. He appointed his brother, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, as *yuvarāja* (viceroy) to govern that country. The latter, in course of time, made himself independent, and thus became the founder of the

Eastern Cāḷukya empire. In the Aihole *praśasti*,[1] Pulikeśin II glories in having inflicted a humiliating defeat on Mahendravarman I at his very capital, Kāñcī. The latter also, according to the Kaśākkuḍi plates, claims a victory won at Puḷḷalūr,[2] but does not state who his adversaries were.[3]

The southern niche in the Ādivarāha Maṇḍapa at Mavalivaram contains a second group of three standing figures, representing Mahendravarman I and his two queens, sculptured in bas-relief. The inscriptions, mostly cut on the pillars of the cave-temples excavated by this king are usually short dedications. That of Śiyyamangalam, for instance, consists of a single stanza and records the simple fact that the temple in question, called Avanibhājana-Pallaveśvara,[4] was excavated by the king Lalitāṅkura. The last-mentioned compound as well as *avanibhājana* are mere *birudas* of Mahendravarman I. In the same fashion, various other *birudas* and the respective designations of the temples occur in the other inscriptions of this class.

Narasiṁhavarman I, surnamed Mahāmalla (*c.* 630–*c.* 660 A.D.), the son and successor of Mahendravarman I, in the course of his martial activities, avenged his father upon the Cāḷukya king Pulikeśin II, by vanquishing the latter in several battles. He even seized the Cāḷukya capital Vātāpi (now Bādāmi in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency) and won thereby the Tamil title of *Vātāpikoṇḍa* 'Conqueror of Vātāpi'. On that account he is compared to Agastya who, as is related both in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[5] and in the *Mahābhārata*,[6] subdued the demon Vātāpi. While the Kūram charter[7] is particularly instructive in this regard, a partly obliterated Pallava inscription on a rock[1] at Vātāpi (Bādāmi) itself certifies the fact of its conquest by Narasiṁhavarman I. Not only does it contain the name of that ruler, but it is also written in the Pallava-Grantha characters of the period. It was possibly in his struggle with Pulikeśin II, that Narasiṁhavarman I received aid from the Sinhalese prince Māṇavamma whom he afterwards assisted in securing the crown of Ceylon.[2]

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[1] *Epi. Ind., Vol.* VI, p. 11.

[2] Dr. Hultzsch has identified the place with the present Pallur in the Conjeevaram *taluk* in the Chingleput district. See Gopalan, p. 89.

[3] According as Mr. Gopalan supposes, they were the same *Cāḷukyas*.

[4] Now called Stambheśvara.

[5] Bomb. ed., III, *sarga* 11, 43.

[6] Bomb. ed., III, *adhy.* 96-99.

[7] *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 144.

Hiuen-tsiang visited Kāñcî about the year 642 A.D. His account[3] does not contain a word about the ruling house, but it affords valuable information about the prevailing religious conditions, especially with refrence to Buddhism. The Chinese pilgrim states that Dharmapāla, the successor of Sîlabhadra, at Nālandā, was born at Kāñcî.

The reign of Narasiṁhavarman I marks the zenith of Pallava power. The triumphant king was as ardent a lover of art as his father. He, too, consecrated cave-temples at different places such as Trichinopoly and Pudukkotta. His name is, however, best known in connexion with the so-called *rathas* of Mavalivaram.[4] These monuments exhibit more variety, elegance and refinement in sculptural art than those of the preceding period. The original name of the place, Mahāmallapura, commemorates its royal founder, Mahāmalla, *i.e.* Narasiṁhavarman I. He is, however, not the founder of all the monuments for which the place is renowned. The effigies of his father and grandfather sculptured in the Ādivarāha Maṇḍapa seem to indicate that this rock-cut shrine at least existed prior to Mahāmalla's reign. The question of the age as well as of the different styles of these *rathas* has been fully discussed by archæologists like Mr. A. H. Longhurst.

Some idea of Pallava maritime activity during this period can be gathered from the *Mahāvaṁsa* which mentions two successive naval expeditions sent by Narasiṁhavarman I in order to conquer Ceylon for the pretender Māṇavamma. 'The bare sea presented the appearance of a [busy] town' *kevalo pi samuddo so ahosi nagarūpamo*)[1] states the chronicle, while describing the fleet. Mavalivaram and Conjeeveram were seaports in those days. Ships sailed from there to Ceylon and probably also to the islands of the Far East.[2]

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[1] Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, IX (1890), pp. 99ff.

[2] For a fuller account see below, p. 11, in the chapter on Ceylon.

[3] Beal, *Records*, Vol. II, p. 228.

[4] J. Ph. Vogel, *Iconographical Notes on 'the Seven Pagodas'* in *A.S.I.*, 1910-11, pp. 49ff.

The Pallava power begins to dwindle during the reign of Narasiṁhavarman's son Parameśvaravarman I (*c.* 680 A.D.). The Kūram grant contains a glowing description of the war waged by this king against the Cāḷukya ruler Vikramāditya I, surnamed Raṇarasika (655–680 A.D.), who was the son of Pulikeśin II. The charter states that he 'made Vikramāditya, whose army consisted of several lacs, take to flight, covered only by a rag'. Although in other records,[3] too, he is extolled for his conquests, he does not seem to have been victorious throughout; for, Vikramāditya I, in his Gadvāl copper-plate grant,[4] dated in the Śaka year 596 (=674 A.D.) claims to have defeated Parameśvaravarman I[5] and captured Kāñcî.

The monolithic temple of Gaṇeśa and the two cave-temples called Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa and Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa at Mavalivaram were, according to the inscriptions, built by a king *Atyantakāma* who has been identified by Dr. Hultzsch with Parameśvaravarman I. Another of his *birudas* was *Vidyāvinîta*. The Kūram charter mentions that he had erected a structural Śiva temple called Vidyāvinîta-Pallava-Parameśvaragṛha.

No warlike enterprise is connected with his son and successor Narasiṁhavarman II (*c.* 680–*c.* 700 A.D.) whose reign must have been comparatively peaceful. He is also known as Rājasiṁha. Besides the well-known Kailāsanātha (originally named inscription on a rock[1] at Vātāpi (Bādāmi) itself certifies the fact of its conquest by Narasiṁhavarman I. Not only does it contain the name of that ruler, but it is also written in the Pallava-Grantha characters of the period. It was possibly in his struggle with Pulikeśin II, that Narasiṁhavarman I received aid from the Sinhalese prince Māṇavamma whom he afterwards assisted in securing the crown of Ceylon.[2]

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[1] *Mahāvaṁsa*, XLVII, 53. (The same in *Cūlavaṁsa*.) The text followed by Mr. L. C. Wijesimha seems to be different; for, his translation runs as follows: 'all the *materiel* of war, which, with the ships in which they were borne, was like unto a city floating down the sea'.

[2] Beal, *Records*, Vol. II, p. 228.

[3] *e.g.* Velūrpalayam plates, *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 508.

[4] *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 22, p. 100.

[5] The record states that he defeated Narasiṁha, Mahendra and Îśvara, the three successive Pallava kings, Narasiṁhavarman I, Mahendravarman II, and Parameśvaravarman I.

Hiuen-tsiang visited Kāñcî about the year 642 A.D. His account[3] does not contain a word about the ruling house, but it affords valuable information about the prevailing religious conditions, especially with refrence to Buddhism. The Chinese pilgrim states that Dharmapāla, the successor of Sîlabhadra, at Nālandā, was born at Kāñcî.

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[2] For a fuller account see below, p. 11, in the chapter on Ceylon.

[3] Beal, *Records*, Vol. II, p. 228.

[4] J. Ph. Vogel, *Iconographical Notes on 'the Seven Pagodas'* in *A.S.I.*, 1910-11, pp. 49ff.

The Pallava power begins to dwindle during the reign of Narasiṁhavarman's son Parameśvaravarman I (*c.* 680 A.D.). The Kūram grant contains a glowing description of the war waged by this king against the Cāḷukya ruler Vikramāditya I, surnamed Raṇarasika (655–680 A.D.), who was the son of Pulikeśin II. The charter states that he 'made Vikramāditya, whose army consisted of several lacs, take to flight, covered only by a rag'. Although in other records,[3] too, he is extolled for his conquests, he does not seem to have been victorious throughout; for, Vikramāditya I, in his Gadvāl copper-plate grant,[4] dated in the Śaka year 596 (=674 A.D.) claims to have defeated Parameśvaravarman I[5] and captured Kāñcî.

The monolithic temple of Gaṇeśa and the two cave-temples called Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa and Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa at Mavalivaram were, according to the inscriptions, built by a king *Atyantakāma* who has been identified by Dr. Hultzsch with Parameśvaravarman I. Another of his *birudas* was *Vidyāvinîta*. The Kūram charter mentions that he had erected a structural Śiva temple called Vidyāvinîta-Pallava-Parameśvaragṛha.

No warlike enterprise is connected with his son and successor Narasiṁhavarman II (*c.* 680–*c.* 700 A.D.) whose reign must have been comparatively peaceful. He is also known as Rājasiṁha. Besides the well-known Kailāsanātha (originally named

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[1] *Mahāvaṁsa*, XLVII, 53. (The same in *Cūlavaṁsa*.) The text followed by Mr. L. C. Wijesimha seems to be different; for, his translation runs as follows: 'all the *materiel* of war, which, with the ships in which they were borne, was like unto a city floating down the sea'.

[2] Beal, *Records*, Vol. II, p. 228.

[3] *e.g.* Velūrpalayam plates, *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 508.

[4] *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 22, p. 100.

[5] The record states that he defeated Narasiṁha, Mahendra and Îśvara, the three successive Pallava kings, Narasiṁhavarman I, Mahendravarman II, and Parameśvaravarman I.

Rājasiṁheśvara after the royal founder) at Kāñcî, several other temples were built by him.[1] His queen, Raṅgapatākā, too, raised a shrine to Śiva. He seems to have excelled all his predecessors by the number of *birudas* assumed by him; for, the inscriptions found on the Kailāsanātha temple alone contain more than 250 such subsidiary names. Most of them point to his propensities and his devotional ardour for Śiva. The rhetorician Daṇḍin is said to have enjoyed his patronage.

He was succeeded between the years 700 and 710 A.D. by his son Parameśvaravarman II who does not appear to have ruled long. The Vîraṭṭāneśvara temple inscription is dated in his 3rd regnal year. With him ends the Siṁhaviṣṇu line of the Pallava dynasty.

The sceptre of Pallava power now passed into the hands of a collateral branch. Possibly this change was due to internal dissensions. The Kaśākkuḍi charter simply alleges that Parameśvaravarman II[2] was succeeded by Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (710—*c.* 775 A.D.) who was a descendant of Bhîmavarman, a younger brother of Siṁhaviṣṇu. The four copper-plate grants[3] dated in his regnal years 21, 22, 58 and 61 respectively indicate that Nandivarman II must have reigned for a very long space of time. It was a period of great military activity tending to weaken the Pallava empire. The Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya II (733—746 A.D.), according to his own Kendūr copper-plate charter,[4] won an easy victory over Nandivarman II, captured considerable booty and even took the city of Kāñcî, but did not destroy it. On the contrary, he bestowed bountiful gifts both on the Kailāsanātha and other temples and on Brāhmaṇas residing in the place. A Kanarese inscription[5] which the victor has left engraved on a pillar in the temple just mentioned, leaves no doubt about his conquest of the Pallava capital.

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[1] *e.g.* the Airāvateśvara at Kāñci, the Shore-temple at Mavalivaram, and one at Panamalai.

[2] According to the record, 'he was chosen by his subjects'.

[3] Udayendiram (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 365), Kaśākkuḍi, Taṇḍantoṭṭam (Ibid., Vol. II, part V, p. 517) and Koṟṟanguḍi (No. 5 of App. A, 1922-23. *Epi. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 115ff.).

[4] *Epi. Ind.*, IX, p. 200.

[5] Gopalan, *History*, p. 121. J. Ph. Vogel, *Bijdragen*, LXXIV (1918), p. 182.

It appears that Nandivarman II succeeded in re-capturing Kāñcí, although the exact circumstances of this event are not known. Besides, he led campaigns against the Pāṇḍya and Tāmil kings in the south. Once he was taken captive at Dantipura, but was rescued by his loyal and valiant general Udayacandra. He also came into conflict with the Gāṅgas.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga, surnamed Vayiramega, also claims to have conquered Kāñcî. It appears that the latter subsequently gave his daughter in marriage to Nandivarman II and thus established a matrimonial alliance with the Pallavas; for, the son of Nandivarman II seems to have been named Dantivarman after his maternal grandfather.

Dantivarman, too, who succeeded his father, appears to have enjoyed a long reign (*c.* 775–*c.* 826), as one of his inscriptions is dated in his 51st regnal year. He married a Kadamba princess called Aggaḷanimmaṭî. According to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa grant,[1] dated in the Śaka year 726 (=804 A.D.), Govinda III defeated Dantiga, the ruler of Kāñcī, and levied tribute from him.

Dantivarman was succeeded by his son Nandivarman III (*c.* 826–849 A.D.) who also fought several battles against the Pāṇḍyas. These campaigns were continued by his son and successor Nṛpatuṅgavarman (*c.* 849–*c.* 875 A.D.) after whom the order of succession is confused. Aparājitavarman (*c.* 875–*c.* 883 A.D.) who appears to have been his immediate successor is recorded to have fought a successful battle against the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa II at Śrîpurambiyam about the year 880 A.D., in which he was assisted by the Gāṅga king Pṛthivîpati. This victory, however, utlimately proved to be the last flicker of the Pallava glory. In the words of Mr. Gopalan: "the Coḷa king Āditya I defeated the Pallava king Aparājitavarman and added the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam to his dominions. Thus the kingdom of the Pallavas passed into the hands of the Coḷas with the death of Aparājita." This event took place about the year 886 A.D.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 127.

Toṇḍamaṇḍala or Tuṇḍākarāṣṭra, as the Pallava kingdom is called in the inscriptions, covered, prior to Siṁhaviṣṇu, the region along the eastern coast between the mouths of the Palar and the Kistna. From Siṁhaviṣṇu's time, it expanded further northwards up to the river Godāvarî and in the south down to the river Kāverî. In course of their campaigns against the Pāṇḍyas, some of the Pallava rulers of the later period advanced as far south as the river Vaigai, *i.e.* up to Madura, the very capital of the Pāṇḍyas; but it is not certain whether that part was ever included in the Pallava dominions. That the Pallavas held sway over such a vast territory is evident from their documents which have been discovered within the limits of the dominions mentioned.

CEYLON

Ceylon was perhaps the first among the islands that came into cultural contact with the continent of India. Relations between Ceylon and the South Indian Peninsula must have existed from a remote past, both being geographically close to each other. No strictly historical document has, however, survived to attest this. Vālmîki's *Rāmāyaṇa* does contain abundant information about Laṅkā (Ceylon), but it entails too hazardous a task of sifting facts out of fiction. On the other hand, we feel ourselves on comparatively safe ground with the Buddhist chronicles. Herein Mahānāma's *Mahāvaṁsa*, being a dynastic chronicle of the Sinhalese kings, stands out as an essentially historical work, though not in the strictest sense; for, it has been written entirely from the monk's point of view. Leaving out the first few chapters, wherein the chronicle first narrates Buddha's visit to Ceylon, which never happened, and then the coming of the prince Vijaya, which may be regarded as semi-historical, we have a fairly reliable account from Mahinda's arrival in Ceylon onwards. Mahinda, as we know, was sent by his father, the emperor Aśoka (*c.* 250 B.C.), for the propagation of Buddhism. On this mission, he was accompanied by many *bhikṣus*. His home-land being Magadha (Bihar), we have here a wave of immigrants from the East and not from the South of India.

At first sight it may seem strange that the *Mahāvaṁsa* proper does not contain a single reference to the Pallavas,[1] whereas it frequently mentions other South Indian powers. This is perhaps due to the fact that the Pallavas came into prominence comparatively late. It may, moreover, be on account of a natural antagonism between them and the Sinhalese, because they were adherents of the Brahmanical faith, while Buddhism has invariably been the religion of the latter. In the domain of commerce, however, there must have existed mutual relations between the subjects of the Pallavas and the Sinhalese, so that cultural influences, too, may have penetrated into Ceylon.

The *Cūlavaṁsa*, the continuation of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, which was composed much later, mentions, on the contrary, several Damiḷa chiefs who, in all probability, are identical with the Pallavas.[2] It is, however, difficult to identify any of them. An exception is the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I (*c.* 630–668 A.D.). A Singhalese prince, called Māṇavamma,[3] being robbed of his rightful throne, seeks protection at the Pallava court. Narasiṁhavarman and Māṇavamma grow intimate friends. Meanwhile the former is called upon to repel a hostile attack. The name of the enemy is stated as Vallabha, but it is presumed to refer to the Cāḷukya king Pulikeśin II, the greatest antagonist of Narasiṁhavarman I. The Sinhalese prince voluntarily lends a helping hand in this struggle. This deepens the friendly feelings. Later on he is helped to his throne by the Pallava. The event took place about the year 642 A.D.[1] This Sinhalese tradition seems to be indirectly corroborated by the Karnūl charter of the Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya I, in which it is stated that the donor's father, Pulikeśin II, was defeated by three allied kings.[2] This triple confederacy against the Cāḷukyas consisted of Narasiṁhavarman, Māṇavamma and a third who, according as Rev. H. Heras in a recent article shows,[3] was the Koḍumbāḷūr king, named Paradurgamardana.

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[1] In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXXI, 38 (Geiger's translation, London, 1912, p. 194), a reference occurs to a country called *Pallavabhoga* from which the wise Mahādeva along with many *bhikṣus* is said to have come to Ceylon on the occasion of the construction of the Great Stūpa at Anurādhapura but there the term Pallava seems to refer to the Parthians, as it stands between *Kasmîra* (Kashmir) and *Alasanda* (Alexandria), this last in the land of the *Yonas* (Greeks).

[2] *Cf. I. Index of Proper Names* in Geiger's edition of the *Cūlavaṁsa*, Vol. II, under Pallava, Damilā, Dāmilā and many of the personal names.

[3] Chapter XLVII contains the story of Māṇavamma and Narasiṁhavarman. *Cf. Mahāvaṁsa*, Part II (Wijesimha's trans.), Colombo, 1889; and Geiger's ed. of the *Cūlavaṁsa*, Vol. I (Pali Text Soc., London, 1925), pp. 83ff.

The great majority of the inscriptions of Ceylon appear to be in Sinhalese, whereas some of the earliest are in Pāli. The process of the Brāhmî script developing into what we term the Pallava-Grantha character can be followed here as well as in South India. Sometimes links missing in South India are supplied by Ceylon. We do not possess any lithic record of the Pallavas, co-eval with those of Bhadravarman (*c.* 400 A.D.) in Campā, to mention the earliest known example in the Far East. This deficiency is made good by Ceylon. The most striking specimen is the Ruvanvalisaya pillar inscription (Pl. 1, fig. 2.) which has been edited by Mr. S. Paranavitana.[4] It is composed in an early Prākrit, somewhat deviating from Pāli, and in some respects evidently the parent-language of Sinhalese. It consists of three lines vertically incised on the pillar which was found broken on the pavement of the aforenamed site at Anurādhapura. A few of the initial letters of each line are missing, owing to breakage. The rest is well preserved. The lettering, which is bold and clear, at once calls to mind the Cho Dinh rock inscription (Pl. 1, fig. 1) of Bhadravarman,[5] which is equally modest in extent. The erection, by an individual named Śiva, of the pillar on which it is carved is the theme of the present record. Instead of giving a regular date, it refers to the reign of the king Budadasa Mahasena (Pāli: Buddhadāsa Mahāsena) son of the king [Siri] Meka Jeṭatisa Apaya (Pāli: Sirimegha Jeṭṭhatissa Abhaya). In an instance like this an approximate date can be fixed with the aid of the *Mahāvaṁsa* which frequently supplies some further particulars about the persons concerned. This is the case here, too. The Jeṭatisa of the record can be identified with Jeṭṭha Tissa II (332-341 A.D.).[1] His son Buddhadāsa reigned between 341 and 370 A.D. This definitely places the record within the third quarter of the fourth century. Owing to the close affinity of script, it also bears out the approximate date—400 A.D. assigned to the inscription of Bhadravarman, a date which rests barely on palæographical grounds.

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[1] *Epi. Zeyl.*, Vol. III, pt. 1, p. 17; Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 36.

[2] *JBBRAS*, XVI, p. 226; H. Heras, *Studies in Pallava History*, p. 36.

[3] *JRAS.*, 1934 (January), p. 36.

[4] *Epi. Zeyl.*, Vol. III, pt. 3 (1931), pp. 120—126, pl. 8.

[5] Bergaigne, *Corpus*, No. XXI, p. 199; *cf.* also M. Finot's comments in *BEFEO*, Vol. II p. 136; Majumdar, Champa, Inscr. No. 2.

A simple type of script generally points to a greater antiquity than a more decorative style does. This, however, should not be depended upon as an absolutely reliable criterion; for, exceptions do occur. This is exemplified by two fragmentary inscriptions from Veragoḍgala: one again of Buddhadāsa and the other of his second son Mahānāma (412—434 A.D.) who succeeded his elder brother Upatissa (370—412 A.D.). Both of the epigraphs are engraved side by side, on the flat surface of a rock which preserves also remains of two more inscriptions and upon which once stood a *dāgaba* now in ruins. Both the inscriptions have been edited by Mr. Bell[2] who also reproduces an eye-copy of them. Mutually they do not, with regard to script, contrast so much as they both do with the contemporaneous Ruvanvalisaya inscription. In the former the script is simple and in the latter elaborate. This is noticeable especially in the forms of *ka, ra, ma* and *ha.*

The language of the two Veragoḍgala rock-inscriptions is a similar Prākrit. The one is dated in the 20th regnal year of Budadasa Mahasena and mentions a tooth-relic (*dala*[*da*]). The exact purport is not clear, the lettering being damaged. The other, which is dated in the 20th regnal year of Mahānāma, refers to a gift of 20 *dama kahavaṇa* (*i.e. kārṣāpaṇas*) to a *vihāra*, but supplies no further information, being equally broken.

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[1] In this as well as in the case of the subsequent dates I follow Mr. H. W. Codrington's *A Short History of Ceylon,* London (1926). His dates also agree with those stated by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in connexion with another inscription of Buddhadāsa in *Ceyl. Anti.,* Vol. III (1917-18), p. 207. According to Mr. S. Paranavitana, Buddhadāsa reigned in 384-416 A.D.

[2] *Ceyl. Anti.,* Vol. III (1917-18), pp. 207ff.

The king's name Mahānāma is reminiscent of the monk (*śākyabhikṣu, sthavira*) of that name, who has left us two well-preserved stone-inscriptions[1] at Bodh Gayā. The one incised on a slab is fairly long and records the erection of a *prāsāda* (most probably a monastery) dedicated to Smarabalajayin (*i.e. Buddha*). The other mentions the dedication of the statue on the pedestal of which it is engraved. The longer record contains a line of *śramaṇas* of Ceylon, every preceding one being the preceptor and the succeeding one his disciple:—Bhava, Upasena, Mahānāman, Upasena and Mahānāman. It is the second Mahānāman of the list that built the *prāsāda* and presented the statue. He was born in Ceylon (*Laṅkādvîpaprasūtaḥ*). In the shorter epigraph he calls himself a resident of Ceylon (*Āmradvîpavāsin*).[2]

The first inscription is dated in the year 269, which according to Dr. Fleet refers to the Gupta era and thus corresponds to the year 588-89 A.D.[3] If this date is correct, it follows that the *bhikṣu* Mahānāman of the inscription cannot be identical with the author of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, who composed his chronicle during the reign of Dhātusena (463-479 A.D.), the nephew (sister's son) of the king Mahānāma first mentioned.

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[1] Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.*, Nos. 71, 72.

[2] Dr. Fleet writes: 'Laṅkā is, of course, one of the most well-known names of Ceylon. And General Cunningham tells me that Āmradvipa "the mango-island", is another of its names, derived from its resemblance in shape to a mango'. (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 275.) Of a similar derivation seems to be the term *Jambūdvîpa* applied to India proper, which means 'Rose-apple Island'. The roughly oval shape of the southern part of India resembles that fruit.

[3] Dr. Fleet is also of opinion that the year given may refer to the era of the Kalacuris of Cedi. In that case it would correspond to the year 539-40 A.D. Prof. S. Levi, on the other hand, holds that the Śaka era is meant here. The year 269 of the record would thus correspond to 347 A.D. *Cf. Indian Studies in Honour of Lanman*, 1929, p. 35

Reverting to the inscriptions of Ceylon, we may mention three votive records,[1] written again in Pallava-Grantha characters, and palæographically assignable to the 7th century A.D., which are found on the pavement slabs of the Yaṭāla *dāgaba* at the Tissamahārāma. Although short, they are interesting for the study of palæography, but no further particulars regarding them are available.

Sanskrit inscriptions are extremely rare in Ceylon. This is due to the fact that Sanskrit is associated with the Mahāyāna, whereas it is Pāli that is employed in the scriptures of the Hînayāna, the prevailing religion of the Sinhalese. The few Sanskrit records so far discovered in Ceylon refer, indeed, to the Mahāyāna. Most interesting is an inscription, recently discovered, which is engraved on a rock at Tiriyāy, a place some 25 miles to the north of Trincomali. Mr. S. Paranavitana, who announces the discovery,[2] describes it as 'the longest and oldest' of the Sanskrit records found in Ceylon. 'The inscription', he says, 'is not dated; but from the form of the script, which resembles the Grantha script, it can approximately be ascribed to the eighth century. The record mentions a company of merchants who are described as "skilled in navigating the sea, engaged in buying and selling, and [possessing] merchandise stowed into sailing-vessels of diverse sorts" (*salilanidhi-prayāṇa-caturaiḥ krayavikrayibhiḥ bahuvidha-yānapātra-paripūrita-bhāṇḍa ....vaṇig-gaṇaiḥ*). The purport of the record seems to be to extol the sanctity of the shrine which is called Girikaṇḍa-caitya and is said to have been an abode of Avalokiteśvara (*nivasati yatra siddha-sura-kinnara-pūjyatamaḥ [guru]r=Avalokiteśvaraḥ*).'

The passage quoted above shows that the record refers to seaborne trade and commercial activity. This is highly interesting in connexion with the maritime intercourse which must have existed between Ceylon and South India on the one hand, and between these countries and the islands of the Far East on the other. For further particulars we shall have to await the publication of the Tiriyāy inscription.

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[1] *Epi. Zeyl.*, Vol. III, pt. 3, p. 159. Also *Epig. Summary* in the *Ceyl. Jour. of Science*, Vol. II, pt. 1 (1928), p. 25, Nos. 394-96 of the list.

[2] *An. Bibl. I.A.*, 1932, pp. 34-35

Mr. Paranavitana, in an 'Epigraphical Summary',[1] enumerates several Sanskrit inscriptions which are engraved, at various places, on slabs set in a flight of steps leading to a shrine of Buddha. Of one such record, *viz.*, that of the *Piḷimage* (Vihāra, No. 2) at Pankuliya, he gives a transcript, together with a photograph. I reproduce it below and add a translation. The inscription consists of only one line (Pl. 5, fig. 1).

TRANSCRIPT

Śrîghanasthānam=ārodhum śrîmatsopānapaddhatiḥ
Śrî-Dakṣiṇasthalasthena kṛtā Śrî-Saṅghanandinā

TRANSLATION

"The illustrious Saṅghanandin, a resident of the blessed land of the South, has made [this] beautiful flight of steps, in order to ascend the shrine of Śrîghana (*i.e.* Gautama Buddha)."[2]

Dakṣiṇasthala seems to refer here to South India rather than to the southern part of Ceylon. The name Saṅghanandin appears to be that of a monk. According to Mr. Paranavitana this inscription belongs approximately to the 8th century. The characters, however, seem to point to the 7th century, as they closely resemble those employed in the records of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman. The shape of *stha* and *ro* is especially worthy of note.

A somewhat longer inscription (Pl. 2), consisting of two verses in the *Upajāti* and the *Vasantatilakā* metres, is incised on a gneiss boulder on the sea-shore at Kuccaveli, a small village of fishermen in Kaḍḍukkuḷam East, 21 miles to the north of

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[1] *Ceyl. Jour. of Science* (section G.—Archaeology, Ethnology, etc.), Vol. II, pt. 1 (1928), pp. 17ff. The inscription in question:—No. 418, p. 28, plate XXI, fig. 1.

[2] *Śrîghana* is one of the appellations of Buddha; cf. *munîndraḥ śrîghanaḥ śāstā muniḥ śākyamunis tu yaḥ* (*Amarakośa*, I, 14).

Trincomali. It has been edited by the same author[1] who, after describing its situation, remarks: 'On the sloping side of the first boulder, an area of about four feet square has been partitioned into sixteen compartments of equal proportions, within each of which is carved in low relief the representation of a *stūpa.* The inscription under discussion is engraved to the left of this sculpture.' The two stanzas cover eight lines, each of the *pādas* occupying a separate line. A similar arrangement is noticed also in certain inscriptions of the Pallavas in South India, and likewise in those of Mūlavarman in Borneo and of Pūrṇavarman in West Java.[2]

As regards the date, we have again to depend upon the script used. Mr. Paranavitana, as a result of a comparative study, places the record in the seventh century. We endorse his view. The inscription affords another proof of the existence of the Mahāyāna in Ceylon, but supplies no further historical information. Its author may have been either a *bhikṣu* or an *upāsaka,* who prays to reach Buddhahood and thereby redeem mankind, in reward for the pious deed he has performed. Whether this last alludes merely to the *stūpas* carved on the same rock or to some more substantial meritorious act must be left undecided. The reading of the epigraph presents no difficulty with the exception of two letters in the 5th line, which are indistinct and have been left unread by Mr. Paranavitana. The word *bala,* which is still traceable, suits the sense of the context. The possibility of this reading is raised almost to a certainty, when we find the same expression, *Mārabala,* used in one of the Prākrit inscriptions from the Buddhist site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa on the Kistna river.[3]

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[1] *Epi. Zeyl...*, Vol. III, pt. 3 (1931), pp. 158-61, with a plate. Dr. E. Müller had only noticed this record (No. 108) in his *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon,* London, 1883.

[2] Vogel, *Bijdragen,* LXXIV (1918), *The Yūpa Inscr.,* p. 216.

[3] *Epi. Ind.,* Vol. XX, pt. 1 (1929), p. 22. Similar expressions are familiar from literature; *cf. Buddhacarita,* XIII, 32, 33; XIV, I: *tato Mārabalaṁ jitvā;* also *Māragaṇa* in XVI, 32: *tato 'rhan sakalān duṣṭāñ-jitvā Māragaṇān api.*

MALACCA.

The inscriptions discovered in the Malay Peninsula, though few in number, are of considerable importance. It is, however, much to be regretted that some of them are reported to have been lost,[1] perhaps for good, before being properly read and utilized. The only hand-copies now available rouse curiosity but by no means gratify it; for, they admit neither of decipherment nor of palæographical study. The remaining inscriptions, as will presently be seen, are now invested with special interest by the circumstance that the rock-inscriptions near the springs of Batoe Pahat in West Borneo, to decipher which no attempt had so far been made, have proved to contain a text identical with that of the Kedah inscription and partly, too, with that of the well-known inscription of the sea-captain Buddhagupta found in the northern district of the Wellesley Province. In the Malay Peninsula itself, the recent discovery of a cornelian seal with the legend *Śrî-Viṣṇuvarmmasya* seems to be quite illuminating, while the expression: *siddhayātra* in the inscription of the Mahānāvika Buddhagupta has proved to be very significant, since the same term occurs twice in the rock-inscription of Kedukan Bukit (Palembang), twice in the Nhan-Biéu (Campā) stele inscription of Indravarman III (dated Śaka 833), and presumably also on a fragment of a stone-inscription of only four or five letters, found at Kota Kapur (Baṅgka).

1. *Kedah Inscription:—*

This inscription is incised on a slate slab,[2] now missing, which was found beneath the floor of a ruined brick house in

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[1] In a letter dated the 29th Aug., 1933, in reply to an enquiry, the Superintendent of the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, writes 'I am sorry the inscribed fragments received in the Asiatic Society of Bengal are not traceable in the collection of this Museum. It is not clear what happened to them in the interval between 1848 and 1876 when A.S.B. collection was transferred here'.

[2] Reported by Col. Low and edited by Mr. Laidlay, *JASB.*, Vol. XVIII (1849), pt. I, pp. 247-49, pl. X; the same is reproduced in the *Miscellaneous Papers Related to Indo-China,* Vol. I (1886) (in Trübner's Oriental Series) with a summary of Prof. Kern's article

Kedah near Bukit Muriam. Considering the modest dimensions of the house, some 12 feet square, and the nature of the inscription, Prof. Kern supposed that the house once served as a hut (*kuṭî*) of a Buddhist monk.

The present inscription is now accessible only in a hand-copy accompanying Col. Low's note which also includes Mr. J. W. Laidlay's reading and interpretation of the epigraph with a few minor defects, the hand-copy being inadequate. Later on, however, Prof. Kern was able to restore the contents in their entirety and to interpret them aright. There are but two stanzas in Sanskrit in the *Āryā* and the *Anuṣṭubh* metres, covering four lines. The first comprises the so-called Buddhist creed: *ye dharmā hetuprabhavāḥ*, etc.[1] which appears frequently on Buddhist votive tablets, pedestals of Buddhist statues, etc. The second verse is uncommon. It is seldom met with in an epigraphical record. It has been read:—

ajñānāc=cîyate karma janmanaḥ karma kāraṇam
jñānān=na kriyate[2] *karmma karmmābhāvān=na jāyate.*

'Through ignorance *karma* is accumulated. The cause of birth is *karma*. Through knowledge *karma* is not accumulated. Through absence of *karma* one is not [re-]born.'

The doctrine herein expressed seems to be more closely related with the *Sāṅkhya* and the *Vedānta* than with the Buddhist philosophy. Still it is not alien to the latter.[3] In the present case, anyhow, it cannot but pertain to the Buddhist religion, as it recurs in Mahānāvika Buddhagupta's inscription which is beyond doubt Buddhistic, being accompanied by an effigy of a *stūpa*. This was the conclusion of Prof. Kern, which

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published in *Versl. en Meded. d. Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch.* afd. *Letterk.* 3de Reeks, dl. I, Amsterdam, 1884, and again in *Verspr. Geschr.*, Vol. III, pp. 255ff.

[1] *Cf. Saddharmapuṇḍarîka* at the end of the last chapter (27th).

[2] Though the text reads here *kriyate*, yet I have given the translation of the word *cîyate*, in accordance with the five other identical texts. *Cf.* p. 22, footnote 2.

[3] *Cf.* Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, XIV, 62, 63, and XVI, 42: *jarāmaraṇaśokādisantatir jātisaṁśrayā avidyādinirodhena teṣāṁ vyuparatikramaḥ.*

is now confirmed by the occurrence of the same stanza in the Batoe Pahat inscriptions that are equally Buddhistic.

No estampage of the present epigraph being available, it is impossible to scrutinize its palæography in order to assign an approximate date to it. On the strength of what little can be made out of the eye-copy, it possibly stands, as Prof. Kern has pointed out, in relation with the sea-captain Buddhagupta's inscription. In point of orthography, the use of the *jihvāmūlīya* is peculiar to the former.

2. *Inscription of the Mahānāvika Buddhagupta* (Pl. 3):—

The stone, again a sort of slate, on which this inscription (portions of which are missing) is engraved, is supposed by Col. Low[1] to have been the upper part 'of one of those pillars which are set up in the areas of Buddhist temples'. It was found in the northern district of the Wellesley Province, and is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Prof. C. O. Blagden of the School of Oriental Studies, London, has kindly placed at my disposal, for the present use, the three pieces of a squeeze that happened to be in his possession. I received two more estampages of the inscription from my cousin, Dr. S. L. Hora of the Zoological Survey of India, Calcutta, at whose request they were prepared, especially for my use, by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent of the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, thus enabling me to make a detailed study of this interesting record.

The stone shows, in the centre, the figure of a *stūpa*. The basement is decorated with three pilasters, of which the central one is complete. The side pilasters, shown in halves, suggest a circular drum. A transition from this drum to the central member is a lotus with some petals turned downwards and the others, three in number, shown erect and supporting a semi-circular[2] dome. From here begins the *stūpa* proper. The dome carries a superstructure (*harmikā*), from the centre of which rises a staff (*yaṣṭi*) with a series of seven superposed parasols (*chatrāvalî*).

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[1] *JASB*, Vol. XVII (1848), pt. II, pp. 62-66, pl. III, and pp. 66-72, pl. IV; reproduced in the *Miscel.* (as before), pp. 223-232; also H. Kern, *op. cit.*

[2] The published drawing is deceptive. There it appears to be almost globular. Hence Prof. Kern's remark: 'Op zijne afbeelding

The inscription is engraved on both sides of the *stūpa* and reads downwards. The two lines, that on the right almost complete and that on the left only partly legible, flanking the *stūpa,* form one stanza. It is not certain whether the remaining two lines and a half, one to the outermost right and the other to the outermost left with six letters below, originally belonged to one connected passage; probably they did. They are obviously in prose. The whole inscription has been, in the main, correctly deciphered and interpreted by Prof. Kern; nevertheless I venture to give the transcript afresh and to propose some changes in the interpretation, on the strength of the more reliable estampage at my disposal.

[From the squeeze it was not possible to form a clear idea of the stone with regard to its shape and size. While the paper was in the press the writer happened to personally examine the slab in the Indian Museum. The Superintendent kindly procured him two photographs of it, that are reproduced here. Below is quoted the description of the slab as given in the *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum,* Calcutta, 1883 (Part II Gupta and Inscription Galleries), pp. 189-190.

MALAYAN PENINSULA.

M.P. 1.—A slab, 2′ 2″ high, by 1′ 1″.50 in breadth at the lower end, and 11″.50 at the other extremity: the curved and inscribed face being narrower than the back, which is plain, the sides being beveled off to the back, each side as well as the face on each of its margins being inscribed. The figure of a Burmese pagoda is delineated in outline between the two last-mentioned inscriptions. The base of the pagoda is apparently nearly square, and of some height whilst the dome-like portion is almost

van het monument,......, ziet men... eenen Stūpa, waarvan het onderstuk uit eenen bol, en niet, zooals gewoonlijk, uit een halfrond bestaat'.

round and capped by a long stalk-like pinnacle, with seven umbrellas at wide intervals on the round stem, which ends above in two half circles, inverted towards each other. The figure given of this sculpture in the Journal of the Asiatic Society is inaccurate. Nothing has been placed on record regarding the discovery of the slab beyond what follows.

This slab was discovered by Captain James Low, M.A., S.C., near the ruins of an old Buddhist temple in Province Wellesley, in 1834, and was presented by him to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 14th January, 1835.]

The stanza :—

[1] *ajñānāc=cîyate karma janmanaḥ karmma kāraṇa*[*m*]
jñānān=na[2] *cîyate* [*karmma karmmābhāvān=na jāyate*]

The line to the outermost right :—

mahānāvikabuddhaguptasya raktamṛi[3]*ttika*[4]*vās*[*tavyasya*?]

The line to the outermost left and the letters in the margin :—

sarvveṇa prakāreṇa sarvvasmin sarvvathā sa[*r*]*vva*. . .
siddhayāt[*r*]ā[*ḥ*] *santu*[5].

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[1] Only the lower part of the long vertical stroke of *a* is visible.

[2] The letter c is only faintly discernible, while the mark of *î* is quite distinct. There is, therefore, no room for reading it as *kri* as has been read in the Kedah inscription. The same verse occurs four times in the Batoe Pahat inscriptions where the reading is decidedly *cîyate*. In all probability, the Kedah inscription, too, had *ciyate* and not *kriyate*.

[3] The sign of *i* is here superfluous. Prof. Kern read *mri* and not *mṛi*, but the curl below *m* answers to *ṛ* and not to *r* which is marked differently. *Cf. pra*, the fourth syllable in the line to the outermost left. This distinction between *ṛ* and *r* is still clearer in Mūlavarman's inscriptions. *Cf.* J. Ph. Vogel, *The Yūpa Inscr.*, pl. *B.* line 4, the fourth syllable *nṛ* pl. C. line 3, first syl. *śṛ*, line 6, fourth syl. *vṛ*.; and the *r* in the word *śrî* at the beginning of the three inscriptions and in several other words.

[4] Prof. Kern reads here *kā* but there is no vowel sign *ā*. The curve above *ka* evidently formed the lower part of a letter in the line above which has almost entirely disappeared.

[5] Prof. Kern's reading is: *siddhayānāsanna*. But *yātā* instead of *yānā* is clear, and though the portion of the stone just below *tā* is

As regards the interpretation, the stanza has already been discussed in connexion with the Kedah inscription. The rest calls for some further explanation than has been given by Prof. Kern. His identification of *Raktamṛttika* with Ch'ih-t'u ('Red-earth'), a port on the coast of the Gulf of Siam, known from Chinese sources,[1] is very acceptable. His supposition, on the contrary, that the missing portion of that line may be supplemented as—*raktamṛttikavāsa*[*sya dānam* (or *deyadharmaḥ*)] seems less probable. The letter *s* in the place where *-vāsa* has been read, is smaller in proportion and resembles more, in size as well as in shape, the one in the ligature *sya* of the foregoing word *-guptasya* than the *sa* that repeatedly occurs in the line to the outermost left. Hence our conjectural reading: *vāstavyasya*. The line on the opposite side presents no difficulty, except that we have to read *sarvvasmin* where Prof. Kern reads *sarvvasmāt*. For the short line in the margin I propose a different reading. Prof. Kern seems to have assumed that these three lines had no connexion with one another. From the rubbings at our disposal it can be made out, with some amount of certitude, that the epigraph originally consisted of at least six lines and that, consequently, excepting the two lines flanking the *stūpa*, it formed one connected passage containing a benediction. The portion preserved on the stone may now be rendered thus: "... of the great[2] sea-captain Buddhagupta, a resident (?) of

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chipped off, a *r* can easily be supplied on the analogy of the same expression (*siddhayātra*) elsewhere. Similarly *santu* is clear instead of *sanna*.

[1] Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, pp. 82, 101, 122. In inscriptions from Nepal such words occur as: *pāṇḍumṛttikā*, *dhavalamṛttikā*, *śuklamṛttikā*. *Cf.* Prof. S. Levi, *Le Népal*, Vol. III (*An. du Musée Guimet Bibl. d'Etudes*, tome XIX), p. 72, where he also quotes a passage from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 71, 20: *Ayodhyā dṛśyate dūrāt sārathe pāṇḍumṛttikā*.

[2] The word *nāvika* (from *nau* 'a boat, a ship') occurs in Sanskrit literature where it means 'a skipper, the master of a small trading vessel'. The term *mahānāvika*, which apparently does not occur in literature, may mean either 'the captain of a sea-ship' or 'the commander of a number of such vessels, an admiral'. Kern's rendering 'voorname scheepsvoogd' seems to approach the last-mentioned meaning.

Raktamṛttika........ by all means, in all, in all respects,...... all..., be [they] successful in their voyage!"

Attention may be called to the final word of the inscription. It is no doubt *santu,* and as such it has led me to a double conclusion: firstly that the record is of benedictory nature and secondly that it ends with the very word *santu.* The only irregularity is this that the preceding word must end with a *visarga* or *s* of which no trace is visible in the inscription. I am inclined to regard it a slip on the part of the engraver.

The importance of the expression *siddhayātra* has already been pointed out. The word, as it stands in the present inscription, is a compound of the *Bahuvrîhi* class, denoting: 'one of successful voyage', or 'one whose journey has been well accomplished'. In the Nhan Biéu inscription[1] the same expression occurs twice (in the verses 8 and 12), but there it is clear from the use: *siddhayātrāṁ samāgamat* and *siddhayātrām upāgamat,* that the word *siddhayātrā* is a *Karmadhāraya Tatpuruṣa* compound, which would mean: 'an accomplished journey'. E. Huber translates the passage: 'acquired the science of magic', which to Dr. Majumdar seems to be somewhat far-fetched. According to the latter, it simply means: 'was successful in his undertaking'. The same expression has again been interpreted as a certain magic power, by M. Coedès, in connexion with the Old-Malay inscription of Kedukan Bukit.[2] Here it is again *siddhyātra,* thus a *Bahuvrîhi* and not a *Tatpuruṣa.* While interpretation of such a conscientious scholar as M. Coedès can hardly be contested, it may still be pointed out that the term in question in the sense of a certain magic power is not known from Sanskrit literature. On the contrary, expressions like *siddhayātrika* and *siddhayātratva* are met with in works like the *Pañcatantra*[3] and the *Jātakamālā*,[1] but nowhere associated with any magic. Dr. Majumdar's interpretation is, therefore, preferable.

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[1] *BEFEO,* Vol. XI, pp. 299ff. R. C. Majumdar, *Champa,* Inscr. No. 43.

[2] *BEFEO,* Vol. XXX, pp. 34, 59.

[3] *vayaṁ siddhayātrikāḥ* 'we are fortune-hunters', in the story of the four adventurers, in the 5th *tantra* *(Aparîkṣitakāritva). Cf. Pañchatantra* (Harvard Orien. Series, Vol. 11, 1908), p. 204.

Prof. E. Huber was perhaps the first who, while he more than twenty years ago treated the Nhan-Biéu inscription, attributed the sense of a certain magic to the expression *siddhayātrā* occurring twice in the said inscription. He thereby gave rise to the theory that in Java once there must have existed a school which attracted people, desirous of acquiring that magic power, from the neighbouring countries. Since then this theory has found favour with various scholars.

One may, however, argue that we are not aware of any such place—neither in literature nor in epigraphy, neither within nor outside India—where mention is made of the existence of a magic known as *siddhayātrā*. Even in the Nhan-Biéu inscription, from which the present theory originates, does not contain any other word or expression that may warrant such a state of affairs.

Almost every scholar, who construed the said expression, first emended it into *siddhiyātrā*, and that without any apparent reason. The emended reading does in a way yield the sense of a magic; for, the terms *ṛddhi* and *siddhi* in the Yoga system of philosophy do signify certain supernatural powers. All the same, the general sense of the word *siddhi* remains 'success'.

Before the expression under discussion was found in an epigraphical record, the compilers of certain dictionaries knew a place in the *Pañcatantra*, where a similar expression is met with: *vayaṁ siddhayātrikāḥ* 'we are fortune-hunters'. In the story, a *yogin* does play a rôle and there is mention of a sort of occultism, too. Still there is hardly any ground for changing the term *siddhayātrika* into *siddhiyātrika*, as the lexicographers have evidently done.

At present, fortunately, we know at least of seven instances of the same expression. The reading in each case is *siddha* and not *siddhi*. We, therefore, cannot assume that the writers of all the pieces have by mistake written *siddha* instead of *siddhi*, as in the case of the *Pañcatantra* passage the lexicographers seem to have done.

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[1] *tasya paramasiddhayātratvāt Supāraga ityeva nāma babhūva* 'he, being (always) very lucky in sea-voyages, got the very name Supāraga (*i.e.* Lucky-voyager),' in the *Supāraga-jātaka*, *cf. Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra, ed. by Kern, 1891, p. 88.

The same *Supāraga-jātaka* of the *Jātakamālā* contains two more passages which elucidate the point still further: *sāṁyātrikair yātrāsiddhikāmaiḥ* and *Suvarṇabhūmivaṇijo yātrāsiddhikāmāḥ*. Here even though the word *siddhi* is expressly employed, yet it is obvious from the context that it has no association of any magic. The term *yātrāsiddhikāma* simply means 'one wishing success in voyage'.

The script of this inscription is more elaborate than that of Kedah. This is specially noticeable in the forms of *ka* and *ra*. In the former inscription, the vertical stroke is doubled by a curve to the left, that rises almost to a second stroke. This vertical stroke in the Kedah inscription is left single. Otherwise the characters of both present so close an affinity as to point to one and the same period. The script resembles that of Pūrṇavarman's inscriptions in West Java. The present inscription may thus be assigned to the 5th century A.D.; that of Kedah may be a little earlier.

3. *Ligor Inscription*[1] (Pl. 4; and Pl. 5, fig. 2):—

Perhaps the most important find in the Malay Peninsula is the inscribed stele discovered at the Vat Semā Müang of Ligor. It measures about 1 m. in height and ½ m. in width which gradually narrows down to 40 c.m. at the base. It is inscribed on both faces. The lettering on the one side is considerably damaged, with the result that only the first four lines are now legible. On the other side, except for a few letters in the centre which are indistinct and a few at the end which are lost, the text, covering 29 lines, is well preserved. It was first noticed by M. Finot[2] who pointed out its importance on account of its being properly dated and recording the erection of a Buddhist sanctuary. It was, however, left to M. Coedès to reveal that it is a record of a king of the Śailendra dynasty which ruled over the empire of Śrîvijaya. In 1918 in the course of a lucid study he showed for the first time that Śrîvijaya was the name of a kingdom and not of a king, as had hitherto been assumed. This epoch-making discovery of M. Coedès is based upon the present record. His paper is devoted mainly to the identification of Śrîvijaya, while he subjoins to it, as an appendix, a transcript and translation of the Ligor inscription with a few remarks as footnotes.[1] Prof. B. R. Chatterjee[2] has recently dealt with the inscription (leaving out the four lines on one face), but he has, except for a few textual suggestions of his own, mainly drawn upon M. Coedès' writing in which several important points have been left unexplained, while some others are differently interpreted. I take this as a plea for a fresh treatment of this highly interesting document, while acknowledging my indebtedness to M. Coedès for the help I have derived from his article.

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[1] Formerly Vieng Sa or Vieng Sra was held to be the find-spot of the record, then called Vieng Sa inscription by M. Coedès who later on pointed out Ligor to be its real provenance. Cf. *Bijdragen*, Vol. 83 (1927), p. 462 (footnote); and N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Jav. Geschiede*. (2nd Edition), 1931, p. 130.

[2] *BCAI*, 1910, p. 149 and 152-3.

The record is composed in highly ornate Sanskrit, which, however, is not absolutely free of blemishes of poetry. There seems to have been a deliberate endeavour on the part of the author to display his skill in Sanskrit composition. By employing peculiar grammatical forms, various rhetoric figures and all the four (*sama-*, *ardhasama-* and *viṣama-vṛtta* and *jāti*) kinds of metres of Sanskrit prosody, he shows himself to be well-versed in all those branches. We shall presently have occasion to revert to these points for a more detailed survey.

M. Coedès indicates the longer portion (29 lines) of the inscription by the letter *A* and the shorter by *B;* but we take them in the reversed order. Evidently the writing on both the faces must have originally formed one continuous inscription. But its first half was on the face which M. Coedès indicates as *B*. This is clear from the very first word *svasti,* which is the appropriate beginning of a Hindu record. The other part, indicated as *A*, is obviously the continuation of the former.

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[1] *Le Royaume de Śrîvijaya* in *BEFEO,* Vol. XVIII, No. 6, pp. 1-36. Appendix No. 1, *A*. and *B*. with two plates.

[2] *India and Java,* Calcutta, 1933, pp. 40-44.

For the most part the epigraph is a eulogy. The concluding portion states the real purport. It records the erection of a triple brick edifice by a Śailendra king whose name—let me mention it for the first time—is Viṣṇu, as is stated in the inscription itself in unmistakable terms. In all probability his full name was Viṣṇuvarman, as we may conclude from a newly discovered seal to be discussed hereafter. The edifice in question is dedicated to Śākyamuni and his two associates, Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi. It is interesting to note that the same triad appears in the Chandi Mendut and Barabudur of Java.

The inscription further mentions that, at the instance of the king, the royal monk built three *stūpas* and that after the death of the latter, his disciple, Adhimukti, made two *caityas* close to the three already erected by the king. From this it is clear that the foundation of all these buildings was not laid on one and the same day. The date given in the inscription then must refer to the day when a sort of inauguration ceremony[1] may have taken place. MM. Pt. Madhava Shastri Bhandari of the Oriental College, Lahore, has been kind enough to supply me with the exact date according to the Christian era, which corresponds to that mentioned in the inscription. It is the 15th of April, 775 A.D., Saturday, 12-30 afternoon.

TRANSCRIPT

A.

(1) *svasti*
yo'sau rājādhirājassakalaripugaṇadhvāntasūryyopa

(2) *maikas=*
svaujobhiḥ kāntalakṣmyā śaradamalaśaśî manmathābho vapu-

(3) *ṣman*[2]
Viṣṇvākhyo'śeṣasarvvāri ◡madavi◡ naścadvitayassvaśaktyā[3]
so'yaṁ Śailendravaṅśaprabh[u]nigadataḥ Śrî-Mahārājanāmā

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[1] *pratiṣṭhā* or *mūrtipratiṣṭhā* in which sense the *sthāpitāḥ* of the inscription is then to be interpreted.

[2] Read: *ṣmān.*

[3] Read: *cādvitîyassvaśaktyā.*

(4)
tasya ca sakalarā (the rest is missing).

B.

(1) *visāriṇyā kîrttyā nayavinayaśauryyaśrutaśama*
kṣamā (2) *dhairyyatyāgadyutimatidayādyakṣayabhuvā*
paraṁ yasyā=(3) *krāntā bhuvanakubhujāṁ kîrttivisarā*
mayūkhāstārāṇāṁ śaradi (4) *tuhināṅśoriva rācā*[1] I.

guṇānāmādhārastuhinagiri (5) *kūṭādhikarucā*
guṇāḍhyānāṁ puṁsāmapi jagati yastuṅga (6) *yaśasām*
maṇînāṁ bhūrîṇāṁ duritabhidudanvāniva mahā (7) *n*=
maṇijyotirllekhāvalayiśirasāñcāpi phaṇinām II.

(8) *dhanavikalatāvahnijvālāvalikṣapitāśayā*
yama (9) *bhipatitā ye te svāsthyaṁ paraṁ samupāgatāḥ*
hradami (10) *va gajā nityāśoṣyamprasannaśubhāmbhasaṁ*
savitari ta (11) *patyugre sevyaṁ sarojarajo'ruṇam* III.

guṇabhṛtamupa (12) *gamya yaṁ guṇāḍhyā*
[*jagati na*]*rā Manunā samaṁ samantāt*
(13) *madhusamayamivāmrakesarādyāś*=
śriyamadhikāndadhate ma (14) *hîruhendrāḥ* IV.

jayatyayaṁ Śrîvijayendrarājā[2]
(15) *samantarājārccitaśāsanaśrîḥ*
praśastadharmmasthiratonmukhena
(16) *vinirmmito viśvasṛjeva yatnāt* V.

Śrîvijayeśvarabhūpati (17) *reṣa guṇaughaḥ*
kṣititalasarvvasamantanṛpottama ekaḥ
(18) *sthāpita aiṣṭikagehavaratrayametat*=
Kajakara-Mārani (19) *sūdana-Vajri-nivāsaṁ* VI.

santatametattrisamayacaityaniketaṁ[3] (20) *n*=
daśadigavasthitasarvvajinottamadattam
sarvvajagatma[4] *labhū* (21) *dharakulisavaran*=
tribhavavibhūtiviśeṣadamamarapadam VII.

(22) *punarapi Jayanta-nāmā rājasthaviro nṛpeṇa suniyuktaḥ*

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[1] Read: *rucā.* [2] Read: *rājaḥ.* [3] Omit: *ṁ* [4] Read: *nma.*

stū (23) *patrayamasi kurvvityatassa tadidantathā kṛtavān* VIII.
svarite (24) *'smiṁstacchiṣyo'*[1] *dhimuktirabhūcca nāmataḥ sthaviraḥ*
iṣṭikacai (25) *tyadvitayaṁ caityatritayāntike kṛtavān* IX.
vṛddhyā (26) *pte Śākarāje muninavarasakairmmādha*[2] *vaikādaśāhe*
śukle ko[3] (27) *līralagne Bhṛgusutasahite cāryyamañjyotirāryye*[4]
deve (28) *ndrābhena ca Śrīvijayanṛpatinānyakṣitīśottamena*
trai (29) *lokyaikāgryacintāmaṇivapuṣa i[va sthā]pitāsstūpa[c]ai[tyāḥ]* X.

NOTES

A.—It has not been possible to restore the two obliterated letters (short syllables) in the third *pāda* of the verse. In the fourth *pāda* one short syllable is wanting, an error attributable to the author.

The points in which the present transcript differs from M. Coedès' reading may be noted here. (NOTES A. B. here refer to *his* A. B.):—

Instead of :	*svāmyaṁ* (A., l. 9)	read :	*svāsthyaṁ.*
" "	*agre* (A., l. 11)	"	*ugre*
" "	*sevyuṁ* (A., l. 11)	"	*sevyaṁ*
" "	*rājārccitigmāsanaśrīḥ* (A., l. 15)	"	*rājārccitaśāsanaśrīḥ*[5]

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[1] Read, for the sake of the metre, without *avagraha, i.e.*: *tacchiṣyo Adhimuktir,* etc.

[2] The engraver obviously first missed *dha,* and after detecting the omission, indicated the presence of the *dha* with a cross mark below the line.

[3] Read: *kau.*

[4] Omit: *ñ.*

[5] This is what Prof. Chatterjee also reads; *cf.* for a similar expression the beginning of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī: āsīd aśeṣanarapatiśiraḥsamabhyarcitaśāsanaḥ......rājā Śūdrako nāma.*

Instead of	*emaguṇo ghana* (A., l. 17)	read	eṣa guṇaughaḥ[1]
" "	*i[ha]* (A., l. 29)	"	*i[va]*
" "	*ca dvitayas* (corrected as *ca divitîyas*) (B., l. 3)	"	(corrected) *cād-vitîyas*
" "	*sau* (B., l. 3)	"	*so.*

TRANSLATION

A.

Hail!

He, who is the supreme king of kings, (who) through his energy (is) alone comparable to the sun for [dispelling] the darkness [in the shape] of the hosts of all his foes, (who) in charming beauty (is) the very, spotless, autumnal moon, (and is) like[2] Cupid in person, (who is) called Viṣṇu, (who) entirely [*annihilates*] the pride of all [*his opponents*], and (who) with (regard to) his prowess is without a second, —that self-same is known by the appellation of Śailendra-vaṅśaprabhu[3] (*i.e.* the chief of the Śailendra dynasty) (and bears) the title of Śrîmahārāja (*i.e.* the Illustrious Great King).

And, of him,....of all kings (?)....

B.

I. His wide-spread glory, the inexhaustible sources of which are (his) prudence, modesty, valour, learning, equanimity, forbearance, firmness, liberality, intelligence, compassion and the like, has completely eclipsed the radiance of the glory of the kings of the world, as the light of the moon during the autumn (does) the rays of the stars.

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[1] This also fits in with the metre. The scratch running across the *visarga* has given it the appearance of *na*. The point will be clear, if we compare the sign of the *visarga* in l. 9 and that of *na* in l. 1 and l. 3. Prof. Krom sought to bring the doubtful reading *emaguṇo* in connection with *hemabhū* one of the later designations of the island of Sumatra (*cf. Hind.-Jav. Gesch,* p. 131, footnote I); but that is now evidently impossible.

[2] The word *like* is superfluous. The text is *Manmathābho vapuṣmān;* it ought to be either *Manmathābhaḥ* or *Manmatho vapuṣmān*, *i.e.* either *Upámā* 'similitude' or *Rūpaka* 'metaphor'. The author possibly intends to employ the latter.

[3] As already noticed, the part *prabhunigadataḥ* is defective of one short syllable. Grammatically, too, it ought to be *prabhur nigadataḥ*. Perhaps we have to read—*prabhavanigadataḥ*, still the compound is not lucid.

II. He is the receptacle of virtues and is also, through (his) lustre that outshines [even] the [snowy] peaks of the Himālaya, [the support] of the virtuous and highly celebrated men in the world,[1] (who is) great, a destroyer of evil[2] [and a possessor] of multitudinous gems as well as [the patron] of the Nāgas[3] with their heads haloed by the streaks of the lustre of the gems, resembling [in that respect] the ocean.[4]

III. Whosoever have fled to him with hearts consumed by the multitudinous flames of the fire of poverty, have attained perfect ease in the same manner as the elephants [are refreshed, which], when the fierce sun is burning [resort to] a pleasant lake with pure, serene and perennial water reddened by the pollen of the lotus flowers.

IV. The virtuous people in the world, having from all sides turned to him, who is endowed with virtues like Manu, display a greater beauty, like mangoes, *kesaras* and other lordly trees on the approach of the spring season (do).

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[1] The wording is not quite suited in the text. The author possibly had in his mind: *who outshines among the celebrities of the world even in a greater degree than the Himālaya does among all mountains*, and then: *who is the support of the virtuous*, etc.

[2] In connexion with *udanvant* (the ocean), *duritabhid* would mean 'purifying'.

[3] The original reading is: *phaṇin* which, while in reference to the ocean means the ordinary serpent, probably alludes to a class of people, called the Nāgas, among whom there may have been some adorning the court of Śrīvijaya as dignitaries.

[4] Referring to the ocean, the words *great, possessor, patron,* and *heads* may better be replaced by *grand, repository, abode,* and *hoods* respectively.

V. Victorious is this king, the lord of Śrîvijaya, whose sovereignty is recognized and whose commands are obeyed by the neighbouring kings, [and] who has been deliberately created by the Creator of the universe, as if He had in view the perpetuity of the praiseworthy Law.

VI. This king, the lord of Śrîvijaya, [who is] the very effusion of virtues, the very best among all the kings around on the surface of the earth, has erected[1] this triad of excellent brick houses, the abode of Padmapāṇi, of the Māra-slayer (*i.e.* Śākyamuni) and of Vajrapāṇi.

VII. This *tri-samaya-caitya*[2] building, which is dedicated to all the best Jinas residing in the ten quarters of the sky, and which is the very thunderbolt for [destroying] the mountains [in the form] of impurities of the whole world, is ever the seat of *Amṛta*[3] (and) the giver of the highest prosperity in the three states of existence (*tri-bhava*).[4]

VIII. Furthermore the royal monk (*rājasthavira*), Jayanta by name, [being] commissioned by the king: 'Make thou[5] a triad of *stūpas*!' has thus made the same accordingly.

IX. After he (the royal monk) had gone to heaven, his disciple, Adhimukti by name, became the [royal] monk. [He] has made a pair of brick *caityas* in the vicinity of the triad of *caityas*.

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[1] The use *sthāpitaḥ* in the sense of *sthāpitavān* is peculiar, though grammatically it can be defended on the analogy of a phrase like *bhuktā brāhmaṇāḥ* the 'Brāhmaṇas who have taken their meal'.

[2] I am indebted to Prof. Dr. J. Rahder for the information that the term *samaya* in Buddhist scriptures means 'doctrine' and that in the present case the *trisamaya* probably refers to the three deities mentioned above, each representing a different doctrine.

[3] The *amṛtapada* of the original seems to be the same as Pali *amatapada* which is a synonym of *nirvāṇa*.

[4] Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, see the word *bhava*.

[5] The word *asi* in the text is an indeclinable equal to *tvam* 'thou', like *asmi* and *asti*, meaning 'I' and 'he'. Their use is not frequent. *Cf. tvām asmi vacmi*, etc. 'I say to thee, etc.' in *Kāvyadîpikā*.

X. The Śākarāja (*i.e.* the Śaka year), (designated) by the (six) *rasas,* the (number) *navan* and the (seven) *munis* having been completed (Ś. 697=775 A.D.), on the eleventh day of the bright half of the (month of) Vaiśākha,[1] the sun rising in company of Venus in Cancer, the king of Śrîvijaya, superior to other kings, like Indra (who is superior to other gods), has erected the *stūpas* [and the *caityas*] (so beautiful) as if their structures are (made) of the choicest *cintāmaṇi* gems in the three worlds.

The question may be asked as to how the king's name *Viṣṇu* has so far remained hidden. This may be partly due to the expression *Śrîmahārājanāmā* of the inscription, to which so much importance has been attached that the personal name of the king has been overlooked. It should be remembered that Arabian authors[2] mention the kings of Śrîvijaya only under the name of Mahārāja. Besides, in the present inscription the title *Śrîmahārāja* is combined with the word *nāman* which is commonly used to denote personal names. The words *ākhyā* and *nigada* have the same meaning. The author has employed the three, but it is obviously the term *Viṣṇvākhyaḥ* that supplies the personal name in this instance. The remaining two refer to a title and a popular appellation of the king.

The earliest known inscriptions pertaining to Śrîvijaya are those found in Sumatra and written in Old-Malay, but none of them contains the name of any king.[3] The *Viṣṇu* of the Ligor inscription is, therefore, the first name that we know of a Śailendra king from the earliest period of the Śrîvijaya empire.

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[1] The name in the original is *Mādhava* which has been wrongly rendered by Prof. Chatterjee as *Caitra. Madhu and* *Mādhava* are two distinct appellations, the former being a synonym of *Caitra* and the latter that of *Vaiśākha*.

[2] G. Ferrand, *Textes arabes*, p. 29.

[3] The name Jayanāga in the Talang Tuwo (Palembang) inscription has been taken to be of a dignitary and not of a king.

4. *The Perak Seal* (Pl. 5, figs. 3 and 4):—

In the *Oudh. Versl.* 1930, p. 36, it was announced that in Perak a good signet ring had been discovered. It was stated to bear an inscription in Pallava characters, which was then read: *Śrîviṣṇuvarmman.* Recently Mr. I. H. N. Evans has published a full account of the excavations at Perak.[1] It appears from his report that the object in question is not a signet ring, but only a seal. It was found on the beach at Kuala Selinsing, Perak, where numerous other antiquities have been unearthed. The seal must originally have been set in a ring, but while certain other gold articles were found in the vicinity, no such ring was discovered to which the present seal may have belonged. 'It is a small seal', Mr. Evans writes, 'of red cornelian of good colour and somewhat translucent, chamfered at the edges on the face and there engraved with an inscription running the length of the seal in the middle. The dimensions of the piece are 1.4 cm.×1 cm.×4cm. The back is flat'.

Although the legend on the seal has been properly deciphered, it was not at once possible to identify the name. Regarding its interpretation and age different opinions have been offered by Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, Prof. C. O. Blagden, Dr. Bosch, Dr. Crucq, and Dr. L. D. Barnett.

We may safely assume that the king Viṣṇu of the Ligor inscription and Śrî-Viṣṇuvarman of the Perak seal are one and the same person. The seal might not have belonged to a commoner, but to a royal personage, as indicated by the use of *Śrî* and *Varman.* The absence of the word *varman* in the ligor inscription presents no serious difficulty; for, in the first place, it may have been omitted on account of the metre, and secondly such dynastic names as *-varman, -gupta, -sena,* etc. are frequently left out.[1] The fact that the two sites, Perak and Ligor, are not very far removed from each other, lends support to the above identification. It may, however, be admitted that the script of the seal is not exactly similar to that used in the inscription, but can we not conceive of two different characters—one simple and the other somewhat elaborate—existing side by side for two different purposes as in the present instance?

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[1] *JFMSM.*, Vol. XV, pt. 3, pp. 89ff, and 110ff, a photograph of the seal and another of the legend on it are reproduced, both enlarged, on pl. XXXVIII, 1, 2: cf. also R. O. Winstedt, *A History of Perak* (*JRAS, Malayan Branch,* Vol. XII, pt. I), 1934. p. 4; Roland Braddell, *The Perak 'Pallava Seal', ibid.* Vol. XII, pt. II, 1934, pp. 173-174.

By the courtesy of Dr. Bosch and of the Curator of the Perak Museum, Taiping, I received a few impressions of the seal in plaster and in sealing wax. The legend reads: *Śrî-Viṣṇu-varmmasya,* as deciphered by Prof. Blagden.

The word being *varman* and not *varma* like *dharma,*[2] its correct genitive singular is *varmaṇaḥ;* but in the present case, grammar has been disregarded. Such grammatical slips do often occur in epigraphical records.[3] It should be borne in mind that seal legends usually contain the owner's name in the genitive,[4] so as to indicate that the seal belongs to that particular individual or corporation. So in the present case, too, *Śrî-viṣṇuvarmmasya* means: "Śrî-Viṣṇuvarman's [seal]."

INDONESIA.

(*a*) *Sumatra.*

In Sumatra no such inscription has come to light as may rank in antiquity with those of Bhadravarman in Campā, of

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[1] *e.g. Skanda for Skandavarman* or *Skandagupta, Bhîma* for *Bhîmasena,* etc. *Cf.* also *Antiquities of Chamba State* by Dr. Vogel, pp. 211f. where in the same inscription the king is called *Lalita-kṣitîśaḥ* (verse 14) and *Lalitavarmaṇo* (verse 16).

[2] There is no possibility of reading *Śrî-Viṣṇudharmmasya,* as the fourth *akṣara* is very similar to that of *v* in *Viṣṇu.*

[3] *e.g.* in an inscription of Mūlavarman in Borneo (Inscr. A, 1, 3) *putro 'svavarmmo vikhyātas* instead of ......*varmmā*...... In India also, *cf. mahārāja-Śarvvavarmmeṇa* instead of ......*varmmaṇā* (in the Nirmaṇḍ Copperplate Inscr. of Samudrasena, Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions,* p. 289).

[4] *Cf.* many of the 'sealings' found by Dr. Bloch at Basāṛh, the ancient *Vaiśāli* (*ARASI.,* 1903-04, pp. 81-122, pl. 31-42) and by Dr. Vogel at Kasiā (*ARASI.,* 1906-07, pp. 44-57., Pl. 12-16).

Mūlavarman in Borneo and of Pūrṇavarman in West Java. Among the dated records of the Archipelago, Sumatra can, however, boast of having yielded some belonging to a very early period. They present a twofold interest, linguistic and historic, as they are the earliest known documents written in an Indonesian language, and at the same time the earliest records of the empire of Śrîvijaya. The indigenous language they represent is now termed Old-Malay. It contains, at least in the documents under discussion, a good many Sanskrit words. Many a term there points to the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, prevailing in that part of the island in the 7th century. Except that the Śaka era and the Pallava-Grantha script are employed in them, they contain little with regard to the relations then existing between South India and Sumatra. Their number, the undated and incomplete included, has recently grown from five to six. As the former five have of late been exhaustively treated by M. Coedès,[1] a succinct account of them will suffice here.

1. *Kedukan Bukit Inscription*:—It is incised on a roundish boulder that was found in the year 1920 at the village of Kedukan Bukit, on the banks of the Sungei Tatang, a tributary of the Musi, at the foot of the Bukit Seguntang, a hill situated to the south-east of the present city of Palembang. It consists of ten lines and is dated in the Śaka year 605. The contents are far from being clear, but apparently there is mention of a naval expedition under the *ḍapunta hiyaṁ* (believed to indicate the king), the forces consisting of 200,000 (*vala dualakṣa*) men. The last line contains the Sanskrit words: *Śrîvijaya siddhayātra subhikṣa*, which freely translated would mean: 'Śrîvijaya is successful in all undertakings and is in a flourishing condition'. The compound *siddhayātra* is met with also in the line 3. The same expression occurs in Mahānāvika Buddhagupta's inscription in Malacca, and perhaps also in the fragmentry inscription of Kota Kapur in the island of Bangka, discussed below. The

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[1] BEFEO, Vol. XXX (1930), pp. 29-80, with 7 plates. They have been previously treated: Nos. 1, 2, by Ph. S. van Ronkel, *Acta Orient.*, Vol. II, p. 12; No. 3, by N. J. Krom, *Tijdschr.*, Vol. LIX, p. 426; No. 4, by H. Kern, *Bijdragen*, Vol. LXVII, p. 393, and *Verspr. Geschr.*, Vol. VII, p. 205.

improbability of its being interpreted as 'acquisition of a magic power' has been shown above.

2. *Talang Tuwo Inscription*:—The sandstone block, upon which this inscription of fourteen lines is engraved, was discovered in the same year at Talang Tuwo, about 5 kilom. to the east of Palembang. Its contents are equally uncertain. But whereas the former document bears a political significance, the present one has a religious bearing. It records that on the second day of the bright half of the month of Caitra in the Śaka year 606, Śrî-Jayanāśa (or -nāga), by order of His Majesty, laid out a charitable park, called Śrîkṣetra,[1] provided with ponds and a variety of trees, for the benefit of all beings. While it is uncertain whether Jayanāśa is the name of a dignitary or of the king himself, it must at any rate be confessed to be a strange name. As in Pallava-Grantha the characters *śa* and *ga* are very similar in form, it has also been read *Jayanāga*. This alternative reading seems to be preferable, considering that personal names ending in *nāga* do occur. The kings of the Bhāraśiva (otherwise known as the Nāga) dynasty, for instance, bore such names as Bhavanāga. In Jayanāga, too, we have perhaps a member of a Nāga family. Such a possibility has been pointed out above[2] in connexion with the Ligor inscription. In that case the position of Jayanāga would be that of an officer. M. Coedès, however, has accepted Jayanāśa as the final reading. Dr. Stutterheim reads Jayawaga.[3]

The record employs a number of Buddhistic terms, such as *praṇidhāna, kalyāṇamitra, vo*[*bo*]*dhicitta, ratnatraya, vajraśarîra, jātismara, janmavaśitā, karmavaśitā, kleśavaśitā, anuttarābhisamyaksaṁvo*[*bo*]*dhi, etc.* Besides, it contains several more Sanskrit words.

3. *Krang Brahi Inscription*:—This inscribed slab lies at the

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[1] *Śrîkṣetra* is also the name of the holy land of Purî on the Kalinga coast in India, as well as of Prome in Burma, mentioned in the Mon records as *Sikset* and *Srikset*, by the Chinese as *Silicha-talo; cf.* N. R. Ray, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, 1932, p. 84.

[2] See p. 32 footnote 3.

[3] *Oudheden van Bali*, Vol. I, p. 67.

steps leading to the mosque in the village of Krang Brahi in the province of Jambi. The visitors use it for washing their feet. The inscription, consisting of 16 lines, was first noticed in the year 1904, but owing to its being for the most part damaged, it has remained undeciphered till about 1920 when Prof. Krom studied it from an estampage and showed that its contents are nearly identical with those of the Kota Kapur inscription to be discussed below.

4. *Kota Kapur Inscription*:—This well-preserved inscription of ten lines is beautifully carved on a hexagonal pillar of stone. It was found in the year 1892 at Kota Kapur, on the northern bank of the Menduk river in West Bangka. The sort of stone used is not found in the island itself. The inscription opens with an invocation for the protection of the kingdom (*kadatuan*) of Śrîvijaya, followed by an imprecation against those who might rebel against the governors (*datus*) of Śrîvijaya and by a blessing on those who will remain loyal to them. Much more important is the concluding part in which it is stated that the inscription was incised on the first day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 608 on the occasion of a military expedition undertaken against *Bhūmi Jāva* which was not yet subjected to Śrîvijaya. *Bhūmi Jāva* is apparently the island of Java.[1] The most interesting fact that the present record supplies is that it shows the expansion of the empire of Śrîvijaya in its initial stage. The Bangka island itself is outside Sumatra which is the proper home of Śrîvijaya and where it was yet a mere kingdom. By its presence in Bangka, the inscription under discussion proves that this island had come under the sway of Śrîvijaya, whilst its mention of a military expedition to Java foreshadows the approaching subjection thereof.

5. *Kota Kapur Fragmentary Inscription*:—On the same site a small inscribed block of sandstone has been discovered. It bears a few letters out of which four can be read: *jayasiddha.*

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[1] This shows that the Sanskrit name *Yava* had as early as in the 7th century been modified to *Jāva* in Indonesia. This form survives to the present day.

They are followed by a sign which is clearly the left half of the character *ya.* There is some free space on the left-hand side, too, but here the lettering is effaced. The script is the same Pallava-Grantha as in the foregoing records. One feels, therefore, inclined to supply the missing syllables by reading: *Śrî-vijayasiddhayātra*, on the analogy of the text in the last line of the Kedukan Bukit inscription. In all probability, the present fragment originally constituted a part of a similar inscription in Old-Malay.

6. *Bukit Seguntang Fragmentary Inscription*—This inscribed piece of stone is fairly large. It was discovered in the year 1928 near Bukit Seguntang, a hill to the west of the city of Palembang.[1] It preserves the initial portions (each consisting of some ten letters) of twenty-one lines. When entire, the inscription must have been fairly extensive. The type of script is uniform with that of the five epigraphs discussed above. From a photograph of this piece, it was possible to recognize here and there a solitary Sanskrit word. At the request of Prof. Vogel, Dr. Bosch has been kind enough to supply a good rubbing of the inscription. This has enabled me to decipher the preserved portion which leaves no doubt that here, too, the language is Old-Malay. Prof. van Ronkel very willingly helped me in studying it in the hope that some sense might be made out, but unfortunately the text proved to be too fragmentary for that purpose. He was able to catch a word or two that seemed to him to point to the demise or illness of a prince. *Krama, bhojya, prajā, kāmakrodhalo*[*bha*, etc.] are some of the Sanskrit words that are employed in this inscription.

(*b*) *Java.*

The inscriptions of the king Pūrṇavarman:—The oldest epigraphical documents found in Java are the four rock-inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman. All of them have been discovered within the bounds of the present district of Batavia in the western part of the island, which is otherwise not so rich in Hindu monuments as the central and the eastern parts are. Three of them, those of Ci-arutön, Jambu and Kebon Kopi, are still *in situ* at close proximity to each other in the hilly country round the Buitenzorg, while the fourth, that of Tugu, was discovered to the east of Tandjong Priok, the port of Batavia, and is now preserved in the Batavia Museum. The four inscriptions have been edited by Prof. Vogel.[1] The first three contain no date, while the Tugu inscription is dated in the 22nd regnal year of the ruling king. On palæographical grounds they can be assigned to the middle of the fifth century A.D.

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[1] *An. Bibl. I.A.*, 1931 p. 29, where Prof. Krom announces some other important discoveries as well.

Pūrṇavarman's footprints form the subject-matter of the first two inscriptions. Those of his elephant are the theme of the third. The fourth records the digging of a canal. In addition to the inscription and the footprints, two spider-shaped marks and a line of cursive writing are engraved on the first rock. Their significance is yet unknown.

It may be assumed that the purpose of perpetuating Pūrṇavarman's foot-impresses was their worship by his subjects; but considering that the foot-marks of his elephant are similarly engraved on the rock of Kebon Kopi, that assumption seems less possible. The fact that Pūrṇavarman is styled *vikrānta* while his footprints are likened to those of Viṣṇu as Prof. Kern points out, appears to allude to the Trivikrama incarnation of that deity. We may in this connexion also compare a passage in the Changal inscription: *puruṣapadamahālakṣmabhūte*. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, in the same chapter in which mention is made of Java and other islands of the east, mentions Viṣṇu, as Trivikrama, having made the first stride on the mountain-peak called Saumanasa.[2] The author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* thus also seems to associate the Trivikrama incarnation of Viṣṇu with the island of Java.

It follows from the above considerations that Pūrṇavarman may have been an adherent of the Brahmanical faith. This is still clearer from the Tugu inscription where mention is made of a gift of a thousand kine to Brāhmaṇas. Although he bears an Indo-Aryan name, there is nothing to show clearly whether Pūrṇavarman was a Hindu immigrant or a Hinduized native of the island. The name of his capital, *Tārumā* or *Tārūmā*, as Prof. Krom informs us,[1] is an Indonesian word for indigo, and, as Mr. Pleyte thinks, is still preserved in the name of the river Citarum. Mr. Schnitger has been kind enough to bring to my notice that such a similarly sounding name as *Tārumapura* occurs in an inscription from South India.[2]

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[1] *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java* in the *Publicaties v.d. Oudh. Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indie*, deel I (1925), pp. 15-35; the article also comprises the results of the previous researches.

[2] *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 40, 57-58: *tatra yojanavistāram ucchritaṁ daśayojanam śṛṅgaṁ Saumanasaṁ nāma jātarūpamayaṁ dhruvam tatra pūrvaṁ padaṁ kṛtvā pnrā Viṣṇus Trivikrame dvitîyaṁ śikhare Meroś cakāra Puruṣottamaḥ.*

The style of the Tugu inscription is not lucid, the meaning is hence not clear. Is *pînabāhu* an epithet or a proper name? Do *rājādhirāja guru* (line 1) and *pitāmaha rājarṣi* (line 4) refer to one and the same person or to different persons? These and similar questions we must leave undecided. The canal (or canals) is designated by the names of two well-known rivers of North-India, *viz.* Candrabhāgā (now Chanab) and Gomatî. This, of course, does not prove that the elements of Northern India were also existent in Java in those early days, though such a possibility is not totally excluded. The names Candrabhāgā and Gomatî are borne by certain rivers in South India, too, as is clear from the *Gāruḍapurāṇa*.[3] *Gomatî* and *Candabhāga* are also met with as the names of certain channels in Ceylon.[4]

The system adopted here for reckoning the days of the month is *amānta* which again points to a South Indian practice. That a canal about seven miles long should have been excavated within twenty-one days seems incredible. It is stated that on the completion of this work a thousand kine were presented to Brāhmaṇas.

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[1] *Hindoe-Java, Gesch.*, p. 78.

[2] *S. Ind. Inscr.*, pt. II, p. 159.

[3] The chapters 54-58 there contain a geographical description. While enumerating the South Indian rivers, the *Purāṇa* states:...... *Kāverî, Gomatî tathā......Tāmraparṇî Candrabhāgā*...(Ch. 55, vs. 8-11).

[4] Wijesinha, *Mahāvaṁsa*, LXXIX, 49, 53; Geiger, *Cūlavaṁsa*, LXXIX, 48, 52.

Tuk Mas Inscription :—After Pūrṇavarman's inscriptions in West Java, we are left almost entirely in the dark as regards the further history of Java, until we come to the Changal inscription in Central Java, which belongs to the eighth century (732 A.D.). There exists thus a considerable gap between the time of Pūrṇavarman and that of Sañjaya; and unless some convincing evidence is forthcoming, it is difficult to decide whether the same current of Indo-Aryan culture continued from the time of Pūrṇavarman onwards to that of Sañjaya or whether there was a fresh cultural wave in Central Java in the days of this latter ruler.

In the absence of sufficient data to bridge that gap, an otherwise insignificant inscription,[1] engraved on a huge boulder near the well-known spring called Tuk Mas 'the Golden Spring' at the foot of the vulcano Merbabu in Central Java, forms an important link. It consists of one line of writing comprising a single verse in the *Upajāti* metre. It contains no date, nor does it mention the name of any ruler or other person. The type of Pallava-Grantha characters used has led Prof. Kern to place it somewhere in the 5th century, whereas Prof. Krom[2] is inclined to assign it to the middle of the 7th century. In any case, it is much earlier than the inscription of Chaṅgal, and may, therefore, be regarded as the earliest known vestige of the Hindus in Central Java.

The inscription is quite legible with the exception of a few letters in the beginning and at the end. As regards its purport, it simply glorifies the neighbouring spring as being so holy as the river Gaṅgā.

Col. T. van Erp was kind enough to place at my disposal the photographs and drawings of this inscribed boulder, which he himself had taken. Consequently I could (though hesitantly; for, the lettering is too faint) supply the few letters which were missing at the end. I could not, however, trace back the beginning portion.

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[1] H. Kern, *Bijdragen*, Vol. LXV, 1911, pp. 334-36, three plates; *Verspr. Geschr.*, Vol. VII, pp. 199-204, a facsimile.

[2] *Hindoe-Java. Gesch.*, p. 103.

TRANSCRIPT

∪ —uśu[cyaṁ]buruhānujātā
kvacicchilāvālukanirgateyaṁ
kvacitprakîrṇṇā śubhaśîtatoyā
saṁprasrutā[1] *m[edhya]karîva Gaṅgā*

TRANSLATION

"[Here] flows forth [the streamlet] purifying as the Ganges, arising out of the bright (?) lotus..., at some places gushing out of the sand[2] and stones, and at others widening its limpid and cool waters."

Does the initial part refer to Viṣṇu's lotus-feet from which, according to the mythical tradition, flows forth the holy river Gaṅgā to which the present spring is compared?

The space above the inscription is filled with as many as sixteen emblematic figures carved possibly by the same hand to which the inscription is due. They represent a wheel with sixteen spokes, a conch-shell, a mace, two water-jars, a trident, an axe, a club, four lotus-rosettes, a knife, etc. Some of these emblems are identical with the attributes of Viṣṇu, while some others belong to Śiva.[3] Prof. Krom fancies a hermit who must have stayed and performed rituals at this holy place.

Another stone inscription in Pallava-Grantha characters of about the same time (*i.e.* 600 or 700 A.D.) is known[4] to exist at the famous Dieng plateau in Central Java. It is, however, much obliterated and has never been deciphered. The Dieng plateau is an ancient site abounding in archæological monuments, both architectural and sculptural, bearing witness to Indo-Aryan influence.

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[1] Prof. B. R. Chatterjee (in his *India and Java*) suggests to read here *saṁprasṛtā*, but that militates against the metre.

[2] The form *vāluka* of the original is a collective noun derived from *vālukā* as *saikata* from *sikatā*.

[3] According to mythical tradition Gaṅgā issued from Viṣṇu's feet and dropped into Śiva's locks.

[4] N. J. Krom, *Inl. Hindoe-Java. Kunst*, p. 171.

Changal Inscription (Pl. 6):—Among the dated inscriptions of Java, that of Changal, of the Śaka year 654, is the earliest. The inscribed slab was discovered among the ruins of a Śiva sanctuary on the plateau of the Wukir hill in Central Java and is now preserved in the Batavia Museum. It measures 110 cm. in height and 78 cm. in width, and contains 25 lines of writing, comprising 12 verses composed in elaborate Sanskrit. It records, in the very first stanza, the erection of a *Śivaliṅga* by a king named Sañjaya, son of Sannāha (also Sanna). The next five stanzas are benedictory and invoke also Brahmā and Viṣṇu, besides Śiva. The seventh describes Java as a holy land abounding in gold and grain, as it is likewise described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV, 40, 30). The rest narrates that on that famous island of Java there reigned for a long time a king, called Sannāha, righteous like Manu. He is stated to have been succeeded by the valiant Sañjaya who, like Raghu, subdued the neighbouring princes and maintained peace and order so ably that his subjects felt perfectly secure.

I am again indebted to MM. Pt. Madhava Shastri Bhandari for supplying me with the exact date, according to the Christian era, corresponding to the one stated in the inscription. Accordingly it was on the 6th of October, 732 A.D., at one o'clock in the afternoon, that the king Sañjaya established the *Śivaliṅga*.

The fact that the name of Sañjaya's father (?) is spelt in two different ways seems to betray that it is an attempt at Sanskritizing an indigenous, perhaps an Old-Javanese, word. For, even though both the words *sanna* 'stuck' and *sannāha* 'armour' are found in Sanskrit, neither of them is known as a personal name.

The inscription has been edited and commented upon by so great a scholar as Prof. Kern,[1] still I venture to propose a few additions and alterations which I have been able to make from three rubbings in the Kern Institute, Leyden. Below are suggest-

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[1] *Bijdragen*, Vol. X. (1885), with a facsimile (eye-copy): *Verspr. Gesch.*, Vol. VII, pp. 115-128.

-ed some minor changes:—

Instead of:	*sthirāṅga* (l. 2)	read:	*sthirāṅśa*
,, ,,	*bhāsvatpaṁti* (l. 3)	,,	*bhāsvatbhūti*[1]
,, ,,	*svadoṣa* (l. 9)	,,	*svadeha*[2]
,, ,,	*dūraṁ* (l. 12)	,,	*nūnaṁ*[4]
,, ,,	*ma* (l. 19)	,,	*bṛ*[4]
,, ,,	*bhuvi* (l. 20)	,,	*adhas*[5]

Besides, we have to read:—*ñgāditîrthāvṛtaṁ* instead of *-ñśāditîvādhṛtaṁ* in verse 7, l. 15. The proposed reading is clear on the rubbing and removes the difficulty in interpreting this passage. The compound probably qualifies the foregoing words: *dvîpavaraṁ Yavākhyam.* It would then mean: 'The excellent island, named Yava, which is studded with holy places, -ṅgā and so forth'. Is *-ṅgā* the latter half of the word *gaṅgā* here?

It is difficult to restore the final *akṣaras* in l. 14. It may still be pointed out that Prof. Kern's reading *nihita* is very improbable. In the place of *-ta* the metre requires a long syllable.

In verse 8, Prof. Kern translates the compound *puruṣapada-mahālakṣmabhūte* somewhat freely: 'which is a noble master-piece among all lands'.[6] I would render it: 'which is the great mark of the foot-impress of Puruṣa (or Puruṣottama, *i.e.* Viṣṇu)'.[1]

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[1] Correct it into *bhāsvadbhūti.* To ascertain the reading *bhū,* compare *bhu* in l. 4 (in the word *adbhutam*).

[2] The preceding word being *vapuṣ* 'body', the mention again of *deha* 'body' seems to be an awkward repetition. This probably led Prof. Kern to read *doṣa* instead of *deha.* The latter reading is, however, unmistakable.

[3] Compare the same word in the last (25) line.

[4] Otherwise we shall have to read *mahābhuja* instead of *mahad-bhuja.*

[5] No sign of medial *i* is visible. The letters *va* and *dha* resemble each other very closely. The preceding *akṣara* though much blurred, looks more like initial *a* than *bhu.* The *s* of *adhas* is dropped here. In such cases *s* is optionally dropped. The author did make use of this option, *cf. ya stūyate* (l. 4) and *tridaśai stutas* (l. 13).

[6] The original Dutch being: 'hetwelk een edel pronkstuk is onder alle landen'.

The compound *anvayavidhau* in verse 9 (l. 18) has been left untranslated. It qualifies the preceding word *Sannāhvaye*, and would thus mean: 'when [he] named Sanna, the very moon of the family'.[2]

There are, moreover, some gaps left. In l. 14, where two long syllables are missing, traces of *ssvarggā* are faintly visible on the estampage. The passage would then read: *tadamarais-svarggādino*[*vo?*]*pārjitam.* The reading after *tadamarais,* however, is very doubtful. The sense is, therefore, not clear. In l. 19, I would fill the blank with *dyutiḥ*. The text would then be: *-gauravarṇadyutiḥ.* Finally, attention may be drawn to the hiatus in l. 23 which unfortunately it is impossible to fill with the aid of the available rubbings. The two *akṣaras* immediately preceding *nyāyataś* are perhaps *naya*. But nothing could be made out as to what the remaining two letters (short syllables) could have been. In attempting at a most perfect possible rendering of an imperfect passage as the present one is: *sūnus-sannāhanāmnassvasura* ◡ ◡ ◡ - *nyāyataśśāsti rājyam,* one would certainly not leave the *svasura* untranslated; for, it at once suggests itself to be the genitive form (*svasuḥ*) of the word *svasṛ* 'sister'. In that case, one would be leaving out only an *a* to begin the following word. Accordingly Prof. Kern translates here: 'van zijne zuster' (of his sister). He, however, does not add a word to it in his annotations. The question whether there is really a mention of Sañjaya's sister in the present record must remain open so long as the lacuna is not duly filled. It may meanwhile be argued whether such a thing can be possible here. First of all, owing to the hiatus, *svasura* here is as exposed to other explanations as to the one already adopted, *viz. svasuḥ,* 'of the sister'. It can best be: *sva* ('own') *su* ('well') *ra*...?? Secondly, the inscription, which is so lavlish in praising Sanna and Sañjaya, must not have left the latter's sister without a laudatory word for her, had she actually to do something in the present instance. In view of this consideration, it is difficult to justify such an inference as Prof. Krom would draw, namely that Sañjaya's sister perhaps had a share in the administration of the state affairs.[1] Regarding this question, I owe Prof. Vogel a very ingenious suggestion that we may render the passage: *sūnussannāhanāmnassvasura*. . ., as 'son of the sister of [the person] named Sannāha'. This view finds support in the fact that in the rest of the inscription there is nothing to indicate that the relation between Sannāha and Sañjaya was that of father and son, as has hitherto been held.

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[1] I may refer to my observations above, p. 41.

[2] The compound word being *anvayavidhu.* A similar expression, *vaṅśaśaśin*, occurs in the Thap-muoi inscription; *cf* Coedes, *Deux Inscriptions Sanskrites du Fou-nan,* in *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXI, p. 6, verse 7. See below, p. 67.

Dr. Stutterheim points out that in a Kawi inscription[2] of the king Balituṅg, dated in the Śaka year 829, discovered at Kedoe, a king Sañjaya heads the genealogy given there, and that most probabaly he is identical with the king Sañjaya of our Changal inscription.[3]

(*c*) *Borneo.*

The number of Hindu monuments discovered in Borneo bears no comparison with that found in Java, Sumatra, and Further India. No vestige, for instance, of a temple or any other sanctuary has come to light in Borneo, against many a marvellous Chandi (temple) of Central and Eastern Java. Sculptural remains, on the other hand, are not totally lacking. Although their number is extremely limited, they still bear an eloquent tesitmony to the former existence of Indo-Aryan influence.

In the Sultanate of Koetei, East Borneo, some remarkable discoveries have been made. A number of stone images were found deep in a cave at Goenoeng Kombeng, a place situated at a distance of about a day's journey from the confluence of the Pantoen with the Kedang Rantau. These images were found lying about in disorder. Some of them were partly broken and most of the heads missing. Evidently they had been brought over to this cave from some other place, perhaps with the object of protecting them from the fury of the iconoclast. They pertain both to Brahmanism and to Buddhism. To the first gorup belong the statues of Śiva, Agastya, Nandîśvara, Mahākāla (these four standing), Kārtikeya, Gaṇeśa (these two sitting), a couchant bull (Nandi) and a few fragments including a four-faced head, obviously of a Brahmā figure. The second group comprises an almost equal number of statues, each seated on a lotus cushion. Most of them represent female deities which have not yet been satisfactorily identified. In a male figure Prof. Krom recognizes Vajrapāṇi. Nearly all of them have four arms. The emblems they carry are, however, not exclusively Buddhistic. They wear *stūpa*-shaped tiaras. Both the groups exhibit a close affinity as regards their artistic treatment. The statues must originally have been placed in the niches of one or more temples the exact site of which it has not yet been possible to fix.

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[1] *Hindoe-Java. Gesch.*, p. 123.

[2] *Tijdschrift*, Vol. 67 (1927), pp. 172-215.

[3] *Hindoe-Java. Gesch.*, p. 125.

Another interesting find was a standing bronze Buddha (ht. 58 cm.). It was for a time in possession of a Muhammadan who presented it to the Sultan. Its exact provenance remained doubtful, but it was reported to have come from Kota Bangoen. It had webbed fingers and a robe passing beneath the right arm. This Buddha image perished in a conflagration during the Colonial Exhibition at Paris in 1931.

Besides, there are some ornaments of pure gold now in possession of the Sultan himself whose son wears them on festive occasions as State Insignia. The gold figurine of a four-armed Viṣṇu, shown standing, deserves special notice. Two peacocks (?) tail to tail form a back-piece to which the figurine is attached. The whole is meant to be a pendant for the neck. A small tortoise is another remarkable piece among these gold articles. Their workmanship warrants a high antiquity. They are said to have been unearthed along with other ancient remains at Moeara Kaman.

All these finds have been discussed by Dr. Bosch who in his paper also summarizes what has previously been written on them.[1]

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[1] *Oudh. Versl.*, 1925, pp. 132-36, plates 29-36; *An. Bibl. I.A.*, 1926, pl. XI.

By far the most important ancient remains of Borneo are four inscribed stone shafts (*yūpas*) which have likewise been discovered in Koetei. Their exact find-spot has again become a subject of controversy. Still the same village, Moeara Kaman, is held to be the most probable place of their provenance. They were presented by the Sultan of Koetei to the Batavia Museum where they are now kept. The inscriptions on them are well executed, but unfortunately one of them is now almost entirely effaced. They were first edited by Prof. Kern in the year 1881-82[1] and re-edited in 1918 by Prof. Vogel[2] who made a comprehensive study of them. The three epigraphs record each the erection of the *yūpa* on which it is engraved, one in connexion with a *bahusuvarṇaka* sacrifice, the second with a gift of 20,000 (or 1,020) kine and the third with certain donations called *bahudāna, jîvadāna, kalpavṛkṣa*[*dāna*], and *bhūmidāna.* The fourth inscription probably recorded a similar munificent act of the king, but here the lettering is obliterated, with the exception of the first two lines in which the royal donor is compared to Bhagîratha, son of Sagara. They are composed in Sanskrit verse in which the *Anuṣṭubh* and the *Āryā* metres are employed The script represents the earliest type of the Pallava-Grantha. They contain no date, but may, on palæographical grounds, belong to *c.* 400 A.D. The first inscription mentions *Kuṇḍuṅga* as the grandfather and Aśvavarman as the father of Mūlavarman, the royal donor. The name *Kuṇḍuṅga* is puzzling. It has no semblance of Sanskrit. Prof. Kern was of opinion that this word pertained to the native language of Borneo. From this he further concluded that the bearer of the name was an inhabitant of Borneo and that it was his son who first embraced Hinduism. This would point to a Hinduization of the Borneo people or, at least, of the rulnig family of that region. Such an inference, however, seems less probable in view of the consideration that *Kuṇḍuṅga* can best be a Tamil word. A very similar name *Kuṇḍdukūra* is met with in a Pallava record, *viz.* in the Pikira grant. May we then assume that Kuṇḍuṅga was an adventurer, perhaps a mere merchant, from the south of India, who settled in Borneo and whose son was the first to become a *rājā* and, as such, to assume a royal name ending in *varman*?

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[1] *Versl. en Meded. der Konink. Akad. v. Wetensch.* afd. *Letter,* 2e R. dl. XI; *Verspr. Geschr.*, Vol. VII, pp. 55-76.

[2] *The Yūpa Inscr. of Mūlavarman, fr. Koetei,* in *Bijdragen,* Vol. LXXIV, 1918, pp. 167-232 with three plates: a supplement in Vol. LXXVI, pp. 431-434.

Kuṇḍuṅga's son Aśvavarman is styled *vaṁśakartṛ, i.e.* the progenitor or founder of the dynasty, and as such, he is appropriately compared to *aṁśumant* 'the Sun' who is the mythical founder of the solar race in India. The word *aṁśumant* seems also to allude to the king of that name, the grandson of Sagara who is mentioned in the fourth inscription. Sagara and Aṁśumant belong to the solar dynasty of Ayodhyā. Aśvavarman is stated to have three sons of whom Mūlavarman was the eldest. The names of the other two are not given.

The second inscription mentions a holy place (*puṇyatama kṣetra*) called Vaprakeśvara where the gift of the cows was made. No satisfactory explanation of this Vaprakeśvara is yet forthcoming. It was a fashion both in India and in Indo-China that a shrine consecrated to Śiva was indicated by a compound appellation the first member of which was the name or the surname of the founder and the second always *îśvara*, one of the many designations of the god Śiva. On the analogy of this, Prof. Vogel[1] suggests that Vaprakeśvara may have been the name of a sanctuary of Śiva, while, at the same time, he admits the difficulty in the way of such an explanation; for, as he himself says: '*vapraka* does not even present the appearance of a personal name'. Prof. Kern hesitatingly translated *vaprakeśvara* as 'holy fire'. Dr. Poerbatjaraka[2] who has devoted a whole chapter to Vaprakeśvara, opposes the views of both the scholars and himself concludes that it was another name of Agastya whose worship has been so popular in the Archipelago. In my opinion, Vaprakeśvara here belongs to the category of names such as Amaranātha (in Kashmir), Badarînātha (in Gaṛhwal), etc. which refer both to the sanctuary and to the principal deity worshipped there. Thus Vaprakeśvara may have been a sanctuary where Vaprakeśvara was worshipped. The question would remain whether we are to take this designation to be that of Śiva or, as Dr. Poerbatjaraka contests, for Agastya. It is tempeting to associate the iconographical remains with this question. The group of Brahmanical statues suggests itself that once there existed a temple of Śiva. Did the name Vaprakeśvara perhaps apply to this very temple?

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 203, where he also quotes instances of this nomenclature.

[2] *Agastya in den Archipel*, Leiden, 1926, Ch. V.

The concluding words of this inscription are: *viprairihāgataiḥ* 'by the priests who had come hither'. This may imply that they had come from some other land or island; but quite possibly it only means that they had assembled there for the occasion.

The terms *gosahasrika, kalpavṛkṣa,* and *bhūmidāna* are obviously three of the sixteen Great Gifts (*mahādānas*)[1] described at length in the *Matsyapurāṇa* (chapters 273-288). Whether *bahudāna* and *jīvadāna* are also the names of specific gifts is not sure.

The inscribed stones are designated in the inscriptions by the term *yūpa* which in Sanskrit means: 'a sacrificial post'. Works on Vedic rituals give the necessary directions as regards the shape, size, etc. of such an object. For practical purposes a *yūpa* was made of wood, but occasionally after the sacrifice had been finished, a stone shaft with an inscription was set up as a memorial of the ceremony. The two stone *yūpas* found in the bed of the river Jamna near Īsāpur opposite Mathurā, afford the most perfect examples of this type of monuments which otherwise are extremely rare.[2] One of these two *yūpas* bears an inscription dated in the reign of the Kuṣāṇa ruler, Vāsiṣka. Apparently each of them represents an exact copy of the original wooden post, corresponding in every detail to the description given in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*.

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[1] The sixteen Great Gifts are: *tulāpuruṣa-, hiraṇyagarbha-, brahmāṇḍa-, kalpapādapa-, gosahasra-, hiraṇyakāmadhenu-, hiraṇyāśva-, hiraṇyāśvaratha-, hemahasti-, pañcalāṅgalaka-, dharā-, viśvacakra-, kalpalatā-, saptasāgara-, ratnadhenu-, mahābhūtaghaṭa-dānāni.*

[2] Prof. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 198; also *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1910-11, pp. 40ff., plates XXIII-XXIV.

Whereas in Further India no such monument is known, the present *yūpas* of Mūlavarman are the only examples found in the Archipelago and as such they are highly important. Neither their size nor their shape, however, suggests any likeness to a wooden post of that sort. They are mere small crude shafts. Perhaps they were not intended to represent a sacrificial post in the strictest sense, *i.e.* a post to which a victim is tied before it is immolated. Possibly they were erected simply to receive the inscriptions commemorative of the pious donations which do not seem to be associated with any slaughter of sacrificial animals.

Somewhat later in date are eight short inscriptions engraved on a rock, which testify to the early existence of Buddhism in West Borneo. The rock in question, which is described as pyramidal in shape,[1] is situated close to the springs of Soengei Tekarek at Batoe Pahat. To judge from the photograph, the face of the stone is almost completely covered with at least eight upright figures carved in low relief. The top-ornament, consisting of a series of superposed parasols, clearly indicates that seven of them are meant for effigies of *stūpas*. They are divided into two groups (three *stūpas* on the left side and four on the right) by a vertical raised band in the middle. Its shape somewhat resembles a club placed upside down. This narrow band is evidently intended to provide space for the main inscription. Besides, the space on the body of each of the *stūpas* has been utilized for shorter inscriptions.

The carvings are partly damaged and the inscriptions, too, have suffered a good deal. They have not yet been edited or deciphered. No estampage seems to have been taken of them, but some photographs are available. From these a few disconnected words have been read, of which *śramaṇa* and *mahāśramaṇa* are significant. These words, coupled with the parasol design of the figures, have led Prof. Krom to the conclusion that the epigraphs contain some religious formula of the Buddhist faith.[1] This conclusion of him has now proved to be right.

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[1] *Invent. Buitenbezit.*, No. 290.

Prof. Krom has been kind enough to place those photographs at my disposal, and at the same time I received another set from Batavia by the courtesy of Dr. Bosch. Consequently the seven shorter inscriptions can now correctly be interpreted. It has not been possible to read much of the eighth one (which is the longest and probably the most important of the group), no *uninked*[2] photograph of it being accessible.

The seven short epigraphs contain each a verse in Sanskrit. There are only two stanzas that are repeated alternately, with the result that, when counting from the left, Nos. 1, 3, 6 and 8 comprise the one identical stanza and Nos. 2, 5 and 7 the other. The first reads: *ajñānāccîyate,* etc. and the second: *ye dharmā,* etc. It is interesting to note that the same two stanzas occur in the Kedah inscription, while the first stanza combined with a *stūpa* is found associated with that of the sea-captain Buddhagupta, both in the Malay Peninsula.

The transcript is as best as the present photographs could allow.

TRANSCRIPT

No. 1.

1. *ajñānāccíya-*
2. *te karmma janmanaḥ*
3. *ka-*
4. *rmma kāraṇam*
5. *jñānānna cíya-*
6. *te kar[mma ka]rmmā-*
7. *[bh]āvānn jā-*
8. *yate*
9. *śa(?) ga (?)-e(?)*
10. *ga(?)*

No. 2.

1. *ye dharmāḥ*[3] *he[t]u-*
2. *prabhavāḥ*[3] *hetu[ṁ]*
3. *teṣāntathā-*
4. *gat[o] [h]yavada[t]*
5. *teṣāñca*
6. *yo niro-*
7. *dho h[y]eva[ṁ]*
8. *[vādî]*
9. *[mahā-]*
10. *[śramaṇaḥ]*

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13. *- - ā - - nya(?)*

14. *- - kya(?)*

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[1] *Hindoe-Java. Gesch.*, p. 75.

[2] The available photographs are of two kinds; the one showing the inscriptions as they actually are, the other evidently taken after an unfortunate attempt has been made to bring out the lettering more clearly by applying ink; it is the former that are more distinct.

[3] Omit the *visarga*.

No. 3.

1. *[a]jñānāccîyate*
2. *[ka]rma janmanaḥ*
karmma kāra-
3. *ṇam*
4. *jñānānna cîyate*
5. *karma karmābhāvā-*
6. *nna jāyate*
7. *nā(?) ka ma(?) ne(?)*

No. 4.

1. — — — ⌣ ⌣
2. *te (?)* ⌣ *thātra*
3. *sa ma hā*
4. *ṣaḍviṅśa (?) tā(?)*
5. ‾*ṣu ve*
6. *viṅśyā mî(?)* ⌣
7. *na caitrapa-*
8· *kṣi(?) ṇa(?)* ⌣
9. ‾*dvā(?)*‾
10. ⌣ ‾ ‾ ⌣
11. *he* ┌┐ *(?) pa(?)*
12. — ‾*sthira (?)*
13. *ga (?) ṇo(?) ca(?)*
14. *ndro(?) ṭa ga dbhuta(?)*
15. *yo caitya*‾
16. *śrîmatpa(?)tra*
17. *ṣa(?)ṇena*
18. *da(?)yitaṭe(?)*
19. *boddho-*[1]
20. *dakha(pa?) ssthā-*
21. *pitaḥ*

No. 5.

1. *ye dharmmāḥ*[2] *hetuprabha-*
2. *vāḥ*[2] *hetunteṣāṁ*
3. *[ta]thāga-*
4. *to hya-*
5. *vadat teṣ[ā]-*
6. *ñca yo niro-*
7. *dho(?) sa(?) ga gā (?) ra(?)*
8. *kra ka pu(?) nu*
9. *sa(?) sya*
10. *- - -[hyeva-]*
11. *mvādî mahā-*
12. *śramaṇaḥ*

No. 6.

1. *[a]jñānāccîyate ka[rma]*
2. *janmanaḥ karmma*
[k]ā[ra]ṇam
3. *vi(?) śu(?) bhu(?) na(?)*
4. *[jñ]ānānna c[î]yate*
5. *karmma karmmā-*
6. *bhāvānna*
7. *jāyate*

No. 7.

1. *ye dharmāḥ*[2] *hetupra-*
2. *bhavāḥ*[2] *hetunteṣā-*
3. *ntathāgato hyava-*
4. *dat te[ṣāñca yo nirodho*
hyevaṁvādî]
9. *mahā-*
10. *śramaṇaḥ*

[1] Read: *bauddho-*.

[2] Omit the *visarga*.

Note.—In No. 4 the signs — ⌣ represent long and short syllables respectively.

No. 8.

1. *a[j]ñānāccîyate [ka]rmma*
2. *janmanaḥ karma [kāra]ṇaṁ*
3. *jñānānna [c]îya-*
4. *te karmma*
5. *vi(?) pu(?) vi(?)*
6. - - - - - - - - - -
8. *karmmābhāvā-*
9. *nna jāya-*
10. *te*

It is clear from the above that each of the seven shorter epigraphs contain also a few words in addition to the stanza. Moreover, whereas these words occur at the end of the stanza in Nos. 1-3, they come in between in Nos. 5-8. They cannot be read from the photographs, but perhaps they are nothing but the names of some devotees. The inscription No. 4 appears to comprise a verse in the *Śārdūlavikrîḍita metre* (the transcript shows the third *pāda* defective of two syllables). It seems to be a properly dated record, as some of the decipherable words, such as *caitra* and some numerals, indicate. There is also mention of some *caityas*. Whether this refers merely to the carvings on the rock or to some structural *caityas* in the vicinity cannot be decided. The word *śrîmat* is surely followed by a personal name, but it has not been read. The purport of the record is clear from the concluding portion which may be translated: ....[this] *Bauddha-udapa* (or *udakha*) has been set up on the bank of.............. by the illustrious ... ṣaṇa.

Neither *udapa* nor *udakha* is, however, a recognized Sanskrit word. Perhaps the word *udapāna* 'a well' or 'a cistern' has been abbreviated here to *udapa* for the sake of the metre. May we then assume that one of the natural springs close by was enclosed with stone slabs, and that this is what the term *sthāpitaḥ* of the inscription indicates? It then formed a kind of fountain for drinking purposes. Such a construction is known by the name of *puṣkarādhāra,* literally 'receptacle of a pool', from one of the inscriptions of the Chamba State in the Western

Himālaya.[1] This form of pious deeds has been very common in Chamba, as is evident from a considerable number of 'fountain inscriptions', usually accompanied by carved figures and symbols, from the 11th century onwards. The present *udapa* may have been constructed with the same purpose as was the case with the fountains in Chamba, *viz.* to refresh the weary traveller, with the only difference that whereas in the former case it was in the name of the Buddha, in the latter this honour falls to Varuṇa, the god of waters.

INDO-CHINA.

(*Campā and Kambodia.*)

Apart from numerous architectural and sculptural monuments and various other vestiges of old Hindu culture in Indo-China, the number of ancient inscriptions discovered there is by far the greatest as compared with that of similar finds in Malacca and the Malay Archipelago. While Kambodia can boast of having yielded a far greater number of documents, the honour of having supplied the most ancient ones belongs to Campā. During recent years many a new find has added to the epigraphy of Indo-China. Many of the records promise great help in reconstructing the early history of the country. Since, however, a good many of the inscriptions are partly indistinct or obliterated, it has not yet been possible to derive full use of them. The published lists contain a certain number of inscriptions[2] of which the contents are still unknown. This is often due to their fragmentary condition. In the case of several of those that have been edited and annotated, there still remain doubtful points as regards decipherment and interpretation. The authorities of Indo-China are, however, rendering excellent services by publishing the facsimiles of all the epigraphs found within their dominions.[1] The texts have thus been made accessible to students of Indian and Indonesian archæology. The existing difficulties may not long defy their combined efforts.

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[1] J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 212. It should be noted that in the reading *puṣkarādhāra*, the syllables *rā* and *dhā* are due to a restoration.

[2] *e.g. Liste Générale des inscriptions du Champa et du Cambodge*, by Coedès, Hanoi, 1923; Finot, *Les inscriptions du Musée de Hanoi.*

The scope of this thesis prevents us from giving even a brief survey of the records of Indo-China. This would, moreover, be superfluous, considering that the great majority of them have been published by various savants, mostly of French nationality. Their works are rendered in English, too, by some scholars from Bengal. The Greater India Society, Calcutta,[2] has undertaken a publication: *Ancient Indian Colonies, in the* Far East, the very first volume of which is *Champa* (Lahore, 1927) written by Prof. Dr. R. C. Majumdar. In this volume, the author has attempted a consecutive history of the country from the earliest recorded period. This excellent work, which is based chiefly upon documentary evidence, incorporates the results achieved in this domain by French scholars. Dr. Majumdar has arranged the principal inscriptions of Campā in chronological order and has appended to his work their texts and translations with notes. Below we shall discuss a few that are the first of his list. No such list seems to have been attempted with regard to the inscriptions of Kambodia; though, in addition to some French works, two separate treatises on Kambodia have been written in English.[3]

Vo-Canh Rock Inscriptions—This partly damaged inscription, engraved on the two faces of a granite block found near the village of Vo-Canh in the province of Khānh-Hoà, has been regarded as the earliest epigraph in Campā. Its contents are not quite clear. It seems to record a certain donation by a king. The name of the royal family has been read: *Śrî-Mārarājakula.* The word *Śrî-Māra* occurs, according as the inscription has been deciphered, twice in the second stanza (once in the beginning of its first *pāda,* and for the second time in that of the second *pāda*). As far as our present knowledge goes, no mention is made elsewhere of this *Śrîmāra* or *Śrîmārarājakula.*

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[1] *e.g. Inscriptions du Cambodge, Vols.* I-V, published under the auspices of L'académi des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris, 1926.

[2] From January, 1934, the same society has started a journal: *The Journal of the Greater India Society.*

[3] P. N. Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia;* B. R. Chatterji, *Ind. Cultur. Influence in Cambodia.*

The inscription has been edited by M. Bergaigne (*Inscr.*, No. XX, p. 191) and further commented upon by M. Finot (BEFEO, Vol. XV, No. 2, p. 3). Lastly it has been included by Dr. Majumdar in his *Champa* (Inscr. No. 1). A part of it has been erroneously deciphered. The editor held it to be entirely in prose. His remarks are: 'L'inscription, tout entière en prose, au moins dans la partie conservée, diffère par le style et surtout par le tour des inscriptions suivantes à partir du No. XXII. Elle diffère plus encore des inscriptions du Cambodge, qui sont toutes en vers, y compris les plus anciennes.' This assertion has been weakened by M. Finot who observes: 'Le texte, à part les dernières lignes, est en vers du mètre *vasantatilakā.*' Dr. Majumdar has, on the other hand, stated definitely: 'There are two verses in *Vasantatilakā* metre, and the rest is in prose.' I venture now to point out that these two verses are followed by another in the *Śārdūlavikrîḍita* metre. In the accepted reading some of the words, it is true, do not fit in with the metre, but this is due to errors in the decipherment. In order to substantiate this allegation, the portion in question may be quoted in its metrical scheme:

lokasyāsya gatāgati[*ṁ*?, *î*? or *e*?] *vi* ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ —
putre bhrātari nāntyake (??) ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ —
yatkiñcidrajataṁ suvarṇṇamapi vā sasthāvarañjaṅgamaṁ
koṣṭhāgāraka — ∪ *naṁ priyahite sarvvaṁ visṛṣṭaṁ mayā*

The metre suggests that in the first *pāda* there must be some long syllable where a simple *-ti* has been read. What is read after *vi* is: *na siṁhāsanādhyāsînena* which militates against the metre. The same does *svasamîkaraṇachandena* as has been read after *-ke* in the second *pāda*. Besides, this as well as the preceding *nāntyake,* according as they are read, has not the appearance of a common expression in Sanskrit.

The final and the remaining words of the record are *tadevaṁ mayānujñātaṁ bhaviṣyairapi rājabhiranumantavyaṁ viditamastu ca me bhṛtyasya vîrasya*.... These are obviously in prose.

Without having at our disposal the inscribed stele itself or a good estampage of it for examination, it is not possible to restore the text.

Some conjectural readings have been offered as regards the beginning part, *viz.* in the text of the two *Vasantatilakā* verses. In l. 8 M. Bergaigne read *rṇṇamanyat.* M. Finot read it *rṇṇamasyām.* Dr. Majumdar asserts: 'It is no doubt the last portion of the word "*pūrṇṇimasyām*".' In other words, it has been assumed that the word refers to a date which is now lost; but that it was in any case a 'full-moon day'. This is, however, very improbable. For, in the first place, the correct form would, in that case, have been *pūrṇṇa* [or *-ṇṇi*]*māsyām, i.e.* with a long *a-kāra, ā,* preceding *syām;* secondly there is no other indication of any date having been referred to in that verse. It may, at the same time, be admitted that a considerable part of the verse is missing. In the absence of any criterion, it is safer to presume that it may have been *pūrṇṇam asyām* 'completed on this'.

With regard to the second stanza, M. Bergaigne would supplement the missing part in the first *pāda* by reading: *Śrîmārarājakulava*[*ṅśavibhūṣaṇe*]*na.* The suggested reading no doubt sets the metre aright, but ill suits the sense; for, the author would not have used a synonymous word *vaṁśa* after *kula.* The supplement offered in the second *pāda, viz. Śrîmāralo*[*kanṛpateḥ*] *kulanandanena* is likewise less convincing. Another questionable reading is *kariṇorvvareṇa,* the final words of the same verse.

No specific name has been assigned to the gift mentioned in the record. Still its nature, as is clear from the latter half of the third verse (which may be translated: 'I have given away all, whatever silver and gold, including moveables and immoveables, stores and houses, etc.'), is the same as that of the *Viśvajit Atirātra* sacrifice, of which the characteristic feature is that the sacrificer gives away all his property. The *Viśvajit Atirātra* forms a part of the *Sarvamedha* 'Entire-Sacrifice'.[1] 'As an equivalent for one's "whole property (*sarvavedasa, sarvasva*)",

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[1] *Cf.* the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa,* X, 2, 5, 16; (*Sacred Books of the East,* Vol. XLIII, p. 320-21).

Kātyāyana (XXII, 2, 26, 27) enumerates 'cows, oxen, ploughs, sacks of corn (or corn-sacks), pairs of slaves, animals for riding, houses (or sheds), and couches.'[1] Raghu is said to have performed this kind of sacrifice.[2] If, indeed, the same *Viśvajit* sacrifice is meant in the present case, this is then the earliest document recording an orthodox Brahmanical sacrifice performed in one of the countries overseas; for, its simpler Pallava-Grantha characters certainly point to a date anterior to that of Bhadravarman (*c.* 400 A.D.).

Two Cho-Dinh Rock Inscriptions (Pl. 1, fig. 1):—A rock situated in the village of Nhan-thap, close to the market-place of Cho-Dinh, in the province of Phu-yen, to the north of cape Varella, bears two short Sanskrit inscriptions, one consisting of three lines and the other of only one line or seven letters. Both have been edited by M. Bergaigne (*Inscr.* No. XXI, p. 199), commented upon by M. Finot (*BEFEO*, Vol. II, p. 186) and included by Dr. Majumdar in his *Champa* (Inscr. Nos. 2, 3). As has been pointed out above,[3] their characters resemble those of Buddhadāsa's inscription in Ceylon. This confirms the approximate date, *c.* 400 A.D., which has been suggested for them on palæographical grounds.

As regards their contents, the first of these epigraphs contains the names of Dharmamahārāja Bhadravarman and Bhadreśvarasvāmin. The last is evidently the designation of Śiva to whom the king Bhadravarman had built a temple which he called after his own name, Bhadreśvara, as is clear from his inscription of My-son to be discussed presently. It is believed that the record 'refers to a sacrifice offered to Śiva'.[4] The evidence for such a conclusion is, however, very vague. The text, being not well-punctuated, seems to have given rise to misapprehension. It comprises, in fact, a few ill-connected phrases. I may quote the text, according as I would punctuate it:—

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[1] *Ibid.*, foot-note 2 on the page 321.

[2] *Cf.* Kālidāsa, the *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 86: *sa viśvajitam ājahre yajñaṁ sarvasvadakṣiṇam.* 'He performed the Viśvajit sacrifice where the whole property is distributed'; also V, 1: *tam adhvare viśvajiti kṣitiśaṁ niḥśeṣaviśrāṇitakośajātam* 'to that king who had given away all his treasures in the *Viśvajit* sacrifice'.

[3] See above, p. 12 (in Ceylon).

[4] R. C. Majumdar, *Champa* (Book III), p. 3.

> *namo devāya*
> *Bhadreśvarasvāmipādaprasādāt*
> *Agnaye tvā juṣṭaṁ kariṣyāmi*
> *Dharmmamahārājaśrîbhadravarmmaṇo yāvaccandrādityau*
> *tāvat putrapautrambhokṣyati*
> *Pṛthivi[î]prasādāt*
> *kā[a]rmmasiddhirastu*

Agnaye tvā, etc. is a Vedic formula that frequently occurs. The only difference is that instead of the common expression *prokṣāmi* 'I sprinkle' *kariṣyāmi* 'I shall do' is used. This seems to be a mere slip. The priest repeats the above formula when he besprinkles an object in order to render the same sacrificially pure. This he does with reference to the materials employed in a sacrifice, such as grass, butter, water, various implements and utensils and the like. The following may be compared for instance: *Kṛṣṇo 'sy ākhareṣṭho 'gnaye tvā juṣṭaṁ prokṣāmi, vedir asi barhiṣe tvā juṣṭaṁ prokṣāmi, barhir asi srugbhyas tvā juṣṭaṁ prokṣāmi,* etc. (the *Vājasaneyîsaṁhitā,* 2, 1); and in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa,* 1, 1, 3, 11: *agnaye tvā juṣṭaṁ prokṣāmi* 'Thee, agreeable to Agni, I sprinkle',[1] The word *juṣṭaṁ* in such cases is attributively used and not predicatively as it has hithertofore been understood, in connexion with the present record.

It is, however, not clear as to what the *tvā* 'thee' in this inscription refers to. Can it be the very inscribed rock?

The compound *putrapautram* has been taken for an object, whereas it seems to be a subject, to the verb which has been read *mokṣyati.* This last word, in its turn, appears to be *bhokṣyati.* The point will be clear when we compare how the double *ma-kāra, mm,* is formed in the words *dharmma, -varmma-, kārmma-* in the same inscription. In them the lower *m* has also a notch (box-head), while there is nothing of the sort in the word under discussion. Moreover, in the present case the base line is not closed, as it always is in the case of the letter *m*. We have, therefore, to read: *-pautrambhokṣyati* and not *-pautrammokṣyati*.

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[1] *Sacred Books of the East,* Vol. XII, p. 22; *cf.* also Bloomfield, *Vedic Concordance.*

The above considerations urge a modification in the interpretation offered by the previous writers.[1] We may render the text as follows:—

Homage to God!
Through the favour of the adorable Bhadreśvarasvāmin!
Thee, agreeable to Agni, I shall do [or I sprinkle].

As long as the Sun and the Moon [exist], the sons and the grandsons of the illustrious Dharmamahāṛāja Bhadravarman will protect [the earth].

Through the favour of the Earth [-Goddess]!
May there be success in [their] undertakings!

The main object of the record is thus a benediction for the progeny of the king Bhadravarman. The rest is invocatory. A *homa* may have been performed on the spot before the inscription was incised. Do the contents of the epigraph point to the early efforts on the part of the Indian settlers to spread and stabilize their power in that country?

The shorter inscription has been read: *Śivo dāso baddhyate* and translated: 'Śiva, the slave, is bound (to the post).[2] This explanation is responsible of a grave supposition that the epigraph 'probably refers to human sacrifice'. It may be pointed out that the ready baddhyate is questionable. If it must answer to the passive (present tense, third person, singular) form of *badh* '$\sqrt{}$to bind', the correct form would be *badhyate*,

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[1] I may quote here the translation given by Dr. Majumdar:—
'Reverence to God! By the favour of the feet of the Bhadreśvarasvāmin I shall make thee agreeable to Fire (*i.e.* sacrifice thee). So long as the Sun and the Moon endure, he (Agni) will save the sons and grandsons of Dharma-Mahārāja Śrî Bhadravarman. May the work (sacrifice) be successful through the garce of the earth.' *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

[2] R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4.

i.e. without *d* preceding *dh*. Some grammarians do admit of doubling *dh* in such cases. The first *dh* then becomes *d*. In this way the form *baddhyate* can grammatically be defended. Still it must be borne in mind that in such uses it is the letter *dh* that is essential and indispensable, while *d* is non-essential and immaterial. In the inscription, on the other hand, *d* conjoined with *ya* is quite visible and no *dh*. Furthermore, what has been read *b* is much rather *v*, since this letter resembles the *v* in the foregoing word *śiva*. The part round the syllable *dya* is, in fact, somewhat blurred on the rock; still the word that suggests itself to be read is *vandyate* 'is honoured, saluted or homaged'. The whole would, therefore, mean: Śiva[1] *dāsa* is honoured.

The reading *baddhyate* necessitated the supplement 'to the post'; otherwise there is not the slightest indication whether there was any such thing. The word *dāsa* has been rendered by 'slave'; but perhaps in the present instance it simply means 'votary'.

It may further be pointed out that the interpretation 'Śiva, the slave, is bound (to the post)' of the present brief record seems to have been strongly biased by the interpretation of the passage *agnaye tvā juṣṭaṁ kariṣyāmi* of the foregoing inscription as 'I shall make thee agreeable to fire (*i.e.* sacrifice thee)', the correctness of which has already been questioned.

The lettering of both the inscriptions shows that they belonged to the same author. It is, therefore, not impossible that *Śivo dāso* refers to the king Bhadravarman himself. The word *dāsa* need not put a serious check; for we know that the Sinhalese king mentioned above, nearly contemporaneous with Bhadravarman, was called Buddhadāsa, a name which literally means: servant of Buddha. There is thus no occasion of associating the sense of 'slave' with the word *dāsa* in the inscription.

My-son Stele Inscription of Bhadravarman:—The village of My-son, in the Quang Nam district, has yielded a number of Hindu monuments of great antiquity. The inscription in question, consisting of twenty-one lines, is engraved on the two faces of a stele which was found in front of a large temple, believed to be the same as figures in the inscription under the name of Bhadreśvara. It has been edited by M. Finot (*BEFEO*, Vol. II, p. 187) and appears in Dr. Majumdar's *Champa* (Inscr., No. 4). A portion of the writing is missing. From the rest it is clear that it recorded a grant of land (*akṣayî nîvî*) to the Bhadreśvara by the king Bhadravarman. The designation of the sanctuary shows that it was built by the same king. While the purport of the record is explicit, its text contains some synthetical fallacies. It has been stated that 'the inscription is written throughout in prose'.[1] The initial, that is the invocatory, part at least shows, on the contrary, traces of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, *e.g.* :—

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[1] Does it correspond to *śaiva* in sense ?

[2] *BEFEO*, Vol. IV, p. 805.

> *siddhaṁ namo*
> *Maheśvara Umāñca pra . . .*
> *Brahmāṇaṁ Viṣṇumeva ca*
> *namo*
> *Pṛthivî Vāyur-Ākāśam-*
> *A[Ā]p[o] Jyotiśca pañcamaṁ*
> *namaskṛtvāhamicchāmi*, etc. etc.[2]

My-son Stele Inscription of Śambhuvarman :—Another stele found close to the one discussed above, at the same site, bears a fairly long inscription, consisting of twenty-four lines. A considerable part of it is, however, destroyed. It has been edited by M. Finot (*BEFEO*, Vol. III, p. 206) without giving a translation of it. This has been done by Dr. Majumdar who has taken up this inscription in his *Champa* (Inscr., No. 7). Three stanzas in the *Mandākrāntā* metre have been detected in the text, and the rest has been declared to be in prose.[3] The record is no doubt in prose and verse mixed. One may still find out a few verses in addition to the aforesaid three. Two at least, in the *Mālinî* and the *Upajāti* (or *Upendravajrā*) metres, are prominent in the part cited below:—

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[1] R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[2] The indiscriminate use of the nominative and of the accusative (while the dative is required after *namas*) and the erroneous *sandhi*, *e.g. namo pṛthivî* instead of *namaḥ pṛthivî-*, go to show that the author's knowldge of Sanskrit left much to be desired.

[3] Majumdar, *Champa* p. 9.

⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑–––⏑ *dhāmnā prakāśaḥ*
vasaṭiravanisūryyassampadā khyātavîryyo (l. 11)

and
śaratpradoṣendurivābhyudeti (l. 13)

The inscription supplies an interesting piece of information, *viz.* that the Bhadreśvara temple had been burnt down and that it was then restored by Śambhuvarman who, in all probability, was the son of Rudravarman. The sanctuary was thence called Śambhu-Bhadreśvara (*Śrî-Śambhuvarmmaṇā pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ tataś-Śambhu-Bhadreśvaraḥ*). The grant of land (*akṣayiṇî bhūmiḥ*) already made by Bhadravarman to this temple has been confirmed in the present record. The conflagration evidently occurred during the lifetime of Rudravarman. The exact date of this accident was originally stated in the record, but the preserved part now contains only: ...... *-yuttareṣu caturṣu varṣaśateṣu Śakānāṁ vytîteṣv-* .. *i.e.* 'when four hundred plus ...... years of the Śakas had expired'. Had this date survived in its entirety, the present record would, being dated in the 5th century of the Śaka era, have ranked as the earliest of the dated epigraphical documents of the countries overseas. The restoration of the temple took place after the death of Rudravarman, of which the date was likewise recorded: ... *parimāṇe Śakakāle svapuṇyātiśayāddivamadhirūḍhasya śrî-Rudravarmmaṇo*......, but is now equally lost to us. A number of astronomical details still preserved in the inscription may perhaps enable an expert in astronomy to find back the lost date. The relation between Bhadravarman and Rudravarman is not clear.

We may now survey a few early inscriptions of Kambodia as well. It is stated in some records that the Kambodian kings belonged to the lunar race and were descendants of Kauṇḍinya about whom various traditions exist; but in spite of that the early history of Kambodia is still obscure. Bhavavarman and Citrasena (whose *abhiṣeka*-name is stated to be Mahendravarman) are the two earliest known kings of Kambodia, to whom is ascribed the foundation of the free state of the

Kāmbujas as also their precedent emancipation from the Fou-nan empire. Kauṇḍinya is said to be the ancestor of the Fou-nan as well as of the Kambodian rulers; this perhaps points to their origin being common. No epigraphical record of the Fou-nan empire was known until recently M. Coedès has shown that two inscriptions, which have hitherto passed for Kambodian records, in reality belong to the Fou-nan. They have been edited by the same scholar in the *BEFEO,* Vol. XXXI, pp. 1-12, with plates, of which we may extract the following.

One of these two inscriptions is engraved on a slate pillar which was found among the ruins of the monument of Pràsàt Pràṁ Lovê on the hill of the Tháp-mouói in the plains of Joncs. It consists of twenty-two lines, of which the first two are almost entirely effaced. It records that a sanctuary was founded and therein the foot-impresses of Viṣṇu under the name of Cakratîrthasvāmin were set up by Guṇavarman who is styled *rājasūnu,* 'king's son'. Owing to the damaged condition of the stone, the name of the royal father is lost, but in the preserved portion he is stated to be a descendant of Kauṇḍinya (*Kauṇḍinya-vaṁśaśaśin* 'the very moon of the Kauṇḍinya dynasty'). Guṇavarman's mother also figures in the inscription in connexion with the consecration ceremony. The record further mentions a *bhagavaddravya, i.e.* a donation made by the founder to the deity. The last two stanzas contain usual imprecations against those who might misuse that gift, and blessings for those who would make a proper use of it and add to it.

This inscription is placed in the second half of the 5th century, since its script exhibits a marked similarity to that of the Uruvupallî grant of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa, dated in the 11th year of the reign of Siṁhavarman, the period of which is estimated to correspond to the first half of the 5th century A.D.

The second inscription is incised on a slab of schist, discovered at the monument of Tà Prohm in the province of Bàti. When entire, it must have been of considerable length, but in its present sorely damaged condition it shows traces of over twenty lines. The first two, nearly well-preserved, stanzas invoke Buddha; the rest presents a very fragmentary reading. It mentions two kings, Jayavarman and his son Rudravarman. The former is stated to have employed the son of a Brāhmaṇa as treasurer (*adhyakṣo dhanānāṁ kṛtaḥ*). The latter is eulogized for his virtues and dutifulness. Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha are described to be in a flourishing condition. The record further mentions that he performed all the duties of an *upāsaka;* this probably refers to Rudravarman. Next mention is made of his wife who is stated to have given birth to a daughter. The stone being for the most part ruined, the purport of the inscription is not clear; possibly it recorded the foundation of a Buddhist sanctuary by Rudravarman.

It is learnt from the Chinese texts, collected by M. Pelliot, that Buddhism flourished in Fou-nan under the reign of the king Jayavarman, that the king died in the year 514 A.D. and that his son Rudravarman, born of a concubine, succeeded him after putting to death the legitimate heir. These details leave no doubt that the kings mentioned here and those of the inscription are identical. The script employed in the record is in perfect agreement with the date known from the Chinese sources. We may thus say with M. Coedès that Rudravarman's inscription belongs to a date a little anterior to the middle of the 6th century A.D.

It is interesting to remark that the two inscriptions, that of Guṇavarman and that of Rudravarman, show the same arrangement of writing, *viz.*, each line contains two *pādas* with a short free space left between, while the beginning of every stanza is marked with a triple curl and two vertical strokes. They also show a close affinity with regard to the style of the language and the variety of metres employed in them. There are, however, certain palæographical peculiarities that justify Guṇavarman's inscription being anterior by about half a century to that of Rudravarman. In the case of the latter the characters such as *ma, ha, la, kha* have their base-line undulating, whereas this feature is not found in the case of the former.

What is of still greater interest about these two inscriptions is that they testify to the early existence, in Kambodia, of Brahmanism and Buddhism almost side by side. That the cult of Viṣṇu in that country in those early days also enjoyed royal patronage is evident from Guṇavarman's inscription; although this cult was later superseded by that of Śiva. The consecration of the foot-impresses of Viṣṇu, the Cakratîrthasvāmin, reminds one of the Ci-arutön rock in West Java, on which are engraved an inscription and the foot-prints of the king Pūrṇavarman who appears to be roughly contemporaneous with Guṇavarman. Had the author in his mind the engraved foot-marks of the Cakratîrthasvāmin in Kambodia, while comparing Pūrṇavarman's foot-prints to those of Viṣṇu? The inscription of Rudravarman is, on the other hand, essentially of Buddhistic nature, but, curiously enough, none of the numeruos religious terms used therein is sufficient for determining whether it refers to the Hînayāna or to the Mahāyāna. The use of Sanskrit may point to the latter; for Sanskrit in Buddhism is commonly associated with the Mahāyāna.

Phou Lokhon (*Laos*) *Inscription*:—This short Sanskrit inscription, consisting of six lines comprising three verses in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, is engraved on the north-east face of a sandstone column which crowns the top of the hill called Phou Lokhon. It has been edited by M. Barth.[1] It records the erection, by the king Mahendravarman, of a *Śiva-liṅga* which still stands on the spot at a distance of 2½ metres from the inscribed column. The brief record is important as it clearly states that Mahendravarman was called Citrasena before his anointment to kingship and that he was a younger brother of Bhavavarman (*i.e.* Bhavavarman I). The first two lines of the inscription are almost completely obliterated, but the text can be restored owing to the fortunate circumstance that two other inscriptions, discussed hereafter, bear identical contents.

Two Inscriptions of Khan Thevada (*or Phu-Bo*):—These epigraphs belong to the same king and contain exactly the same text as the preceding one does. They have been edited by M. Coedès[2] who could also correct M. Barth's reading in the third line: *sarvvamāhatalakṣaṇaḥ* by reading it *pūrvvamāhatalakṣaṇaḥ*.[1]

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[1] *Album Kern*, Leiden, 1903, pp. 37-40; reproduced in *BEFEO*, Vol. III, pp. 442-46. *Cf.* also Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, Vol. II, p. 72.

[2] *BEFEO*, Vol. XXII (1922), pp. 57-60, pl. II.

M. Coedès discusses, at the same place, two more (very fragmentary) inscriptions of the same king Citrasena-Mahendravarman. Each of them records the erection of a stone effigy of the bull Nandi.

The use of the singular in *jitvemandeśamakhilam* 'having conquered this whole land' in each of the first three inscriptions suggests that the king was yet advancing his victorious march, whereas that of the plural in *vijitya nikhilāndeśān* 'having conquered all the lands' in each of the last two inscriptions indicates that he had completed his conquests. Since one of the five records has been discovered at a considerable distance from the find-spots of the remaining ones (that are in close proximity to each other), the extent of the conquered territory is estimated to be fairly large. Mahendravarman is known to have reigned about 620 A.D., a date which quite agrees with the elaborate and elegant script used in his records.

Srideb Inscription (Pl. 7):—

This fragmentary Sanskrit inscription consists of but six lines neatly incised on the upper part of a roughly conical stone. Its place of provenance is Srideb (or Śrí T'èp)[2] and it is now preserved in the Bangkok Museum. The stone and the inscription, when entire, must have been of considerable size. The preserved piece has been erroneously described as a *liṅga*, as has been pointed out by M. Coedès.[3] The Siamese themselves call it

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[1] *āhatalakṣaṇa* is a set expression that means 'famous'. *Cf. Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 71 : *Kakutstha ityāhatalakṣaṇo'bhūt*. It is also written as *āhitalakṣaṇa* ; *cf. Amarakoṣa*, III, 10, and Maheśvara's commentary on it.

[2] The inscription was first noticed by M. L. de Lajonquière, *BCAIC*, 1909, p. 228; and subsequently by M. Finot, *BCAIC*, 1910, p. 149 and p. 151, No. 16. About the find-spot M. Finot states:—'Provient probablement de la Vat Vieng Chaya, côte Est de la péninsule malaise, au Nord de Ligor'.

[3] *Ars Asiatica*, XII (1928), p. 24; and in his paper *Note sur quelques sculptures provenant de Srideb (Siam)* in *Études, d'orientalisme, Linossier* 1932, p. 162, pl. XIII.

A passing reference to this inscription is also made by M. Claeys in *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXI (1931), p. 402.

lăk mŭ'ang, i.e. a foundation stone of the city (of Srideb); but in the preserved portion of the inscription itself there is nothing to confirm this.

From an inked estampage, which I owe to the courtesy of H. H. Prince Bidya, the President of the Royal Institute of Siam, I have been able to give below a transcript and a translation of the inscription. The text is, however, almost equally legible on the plate accompanying M. Coedès' paper.[1] It does not yield any coherent sense. The mention of Kānīnarṣi (*i.e.* Vyāsa) points at least to the Brahmanical nature of the record. Moreover, the expression *śūrau* (in the dual) seems to allude to two princes, perhaps sons of the same father; provided the foregoing words are really *prajā-pālane*.

On the strength of palæographical evidence, the record may be asigned to the 5th century A.D.

TRANSCRIPT

1. ......mat=taṁ (*or* mantaṁ] dharmmāś=coktā ye......
2. ......ṅ=Kānīnarṣis=tasya kṛta......
3. ...— — ⏑ — vetty=akhilaṁ sa codyam[2]......
4. ..— — ⏑ — ś=śiṣṭaga[ṇa]sya yaś=ca[2,3] ve[*or* la]
5. ...[gṛ]hîtan=nṛpasiṅhena kurvvatā puṇyasa [ñcayaṁ?][4]
6. ...[pra?] [j]ā[5] pālane śū[6] rau satyadayānvitau....

TRANSLATION

1. ...the laws that were told to him....
2. ...the sage, born of a virgin (*i.e.* the sage Vyāsa), of him, made....
3. ....he knows all [what is religiously]to be enjoined...

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[1] See footnote 3 on previous page.

[2] *Indravajrā* (or *Upendravajrā* or *Upajāti*) metre.

[3] The significance of the peculiar mark and of the double vertical stroke is not quite clear.

[4] *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

[5] The form of the curl, representing the medial *ā*, is such as is found in the combination of the letter *j* alone.

[6] For the peculiar ligature indicating *ū*, *cf.* the Tugu inscription of Pūrṇavarman 1. 2 in *bhūne(te)na*.

4. ....and [that] what [or who] [is] of the revered ones....
5. ...taken by the best king, performing pious acts....
6 ...in protecting the subjects, both [of them] valiant, possessed of truthfulness and compassion....

Conclusions

In the very numeruos inscriptions, on copper and stone, left by the rulers of the Pallava dynasty, no reference is made to relations, friendly or hostile, with the countries overseas. No sea-voyage is, in fact, alluded to. It would, however, be rash to conclude from this silence that such relations did not exist. Let us take the case of Ceylon for example. The epigraphical records of the Pallavas do not contain a word about any war waged by Narasiṁhavarman I against the kings of Siṁhaladvîpa.[1] Yet we know from the Siṁhalese chronicle that he sent twice a naval expedition to Ceylon in order to secure Māṇavamma his rightful throne.

The epigrahical documents of Further India and Indonesia are almost equally reticent about any connexion with India proper. Still it is a very remarkable fact that the earliest known inscriptions found in those countries of the Far East are all composed in Sanskrit, all belong approximately to the same period, *viz.* the fifth century, and are written in a script which in every respect is identical with the Grantha character used at that time on the coast of Coromandel. This is all the more noteworthy if we remember that not a single inscription in earlier Indian writing has come to light[2] in those countries and islands. Neither the Brāhmî of the Maurya period nor that of the Imperial Guptas is represented in any of the records found there; although the former is associated with fervent missionary zeal of Buddhism and the latter with a rich florescence of Brahmanism —the two main faiths with which the culture of Further India and Indonesia has been imbued.

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[1] *Cf. An. Rep. S.I.Ep.*, 1930-31, Siṁhaviṣṇu having routed the proud Siṁhala.

[2] A Gupta coin of Chandragupta II has recently been discovered in Central Java; see *Bijdragen*, Vol. 89, p. 121.

Even more significant is the phenomenon that for several centuries the Pallava-Grantha has remained the only script in vogue both in Further India and in Indonesia (if at least we are to judge from the evidence of the inscriptions) and that during this period it exhibits a development running parallel with that which we notice in the contemporaneous records of Coromandel. It is not until the second half of the eighth century that another script, equally of Indian origin, *viz.* Pre-Nāgarî,[1] makes its appearance in Java under the Śailendra monarchs, and in Kambodia under the king Yaśovarman.[2] About the same time commences the independent development of writing in the overseas countries. In Java, the Dinaya inscription, dated in the Śaka year 682 (*i.e.* 760 A.D.), affords the earliest specimen of the Kawi character.[3] A similar process was afoot in the other countries as well.

Coming back to the earlier period, if indeed a parallel palæographical development may be assumed, it is justified to infer that there must have existed a close and constant contact and a regular communication by sea between Coromandel and the countries overseas, and that during several centuries (*c.* 300-*c.* 800 A.D.) the Indo-Aryan influence kept spreading far and wide in those lands, while, at the same time, strengthening the cultural relations.

Now this period roughly concides with the rule of the Pallava dynasty in South India. The Coromandel coast was the territory over which they held sway. The numerous architectural and sculptural monuments built by the Pallavas constitute, through their peculiar style, a distinct contribution to Indian art. The same style, side by side with the Pallava-Grantha script, is found back in certain monuments in Further India and Indonesia.[4] The culture of these countries during this period thus bears an unmistakable stamp of Pallava influence.

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[1] N. J. Krom, *Hind.-Java. Gesch.*, p. 5; Dr. Bosch, *Tijdschrift*, Vol. 68, p. 4.

[2] B. R. Chatterji, *Ind. Cultur. Influ. in Cambodia*, p. 110.

[3] N. J. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5.

[4] J. Ph. Vogel, *The Relation between the Art of India and Java*, p. 37.

May we go a step further and assume that the Pallavas had extended their authority over those far off countries? In other words, may we conjecture the existence of an extensive colonial empire of which the kingdom of the Pallavas formed the centre and the nucleus? There seems to be no foundation for such a conclusion. We have seen that the records of the Pallavas do not contain the slightest indication of such a state of affairs. What is even more important, the early inscriptions of Indo-China and Indonesia, which supply the names of several rulers, never refer to any allegiance owned by these kings to suzerains in India proper. In fact, it is surprising by these documents hardly ever seem to allude to relations with the Indian homeland. An exception is perhaps the inscription (dated in the Śaka year 654, *i.e.* 732 A.D.) of Changal in Central Java with its accidental reference to the *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa* which has been identified with the *Kuñjaradarî* of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV, 16) and located on the frontier of Travancore and Tinnevelly in South India. In Campā, in the My-son stele inscription dated in the Śaka year 579, *i.e.* 657 A.D., it is stated that the king Gaṅgārāja, when he abdicated the throne, betook himself to the Jāhnavî, *i.e.* the river Ganges (*prāyād ato jāhnavîm*).[1]

As an alternative to the above conjecture, we may presume that it was a group of ambitious adventurers who first set sail from the Coromandel coast towards the East. They may have been mere traders whose enterprise was crowned with such success as induced others to follow suit. The subsequent immigrants may have been accompanied by equally ambitious Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, learned and capable. They may or may not have had any definite intention to establish a colony and wield the royal sway over foreign soil, but must have found the circumstances favourable enough to do so; for, they have evidently done it. They do not seem to have had any royal connexion to boast of, as appears from the total absence, in their records, of any reference to their homeland. In the adopted lands they found their respective homes; and thoroughbred Hindus as they were, they kept up the torch of their culture burning.

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[1] R. C. Majumdar, *Champa*, pp. 29, 35, 163, and inscr., No. 12.

As early as 1886, when little was known of the Pallavas, it has been remarked by Sir W. Elliot: 'For some hundred years before the seventh century the country, from the base of the table-land to the Pálar and Pennár rivers, was occupied by a section of the pastoral race, traditionally designated as Kurumbars, of whom little is known........ They are further stated to have been engaged in trade, and to have owned ships, and carried on a considerable commerce by sea'.[1] We now know that the region mentioned was included in the Pallava dominions.

We may adduce some further evidence from the inscriptions, showing that these early waves of immigrants must have hailed from those regions of South India that were under the government of the Pallavas in those times: (*a*) The use of royal names ending in *varman, e.g.* Bhadravarman in Campā, Mūlavarman (son of Aśvavarman) in Borneo and Pūrṇavarman in Java, is common with the nomenclature of the Pallava monarchs;[2] (*b*) in all the dated records of Further India and Indonesia only the Śaka era is employed. This era was prevalent in South India, whereas the Vikrama era was most commonly used in the northern parts of India. Curiously enough, the Pallavas never employed the Śaka era. As a matter of fact, none of their numerous documents is dated in any known era; it is their regnal years that appear in their dated records. Nor have they followed the example of the Guptas in starting a new era. (*c*) The title *Dharmamahārāja* assumed by the king Bhadravarman of Campā is (if at least it does not denote an inferior or a subordinate rank) practically the same as *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* borne by the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. Both of the kings were again nearly contemporary to each other. The same title was borne by the Kadamba rulers as well.

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[1] *Numismata Orientalia, Coins of Southern India*, pp. 36, 37; cf. R. K. Mookerji, *A Hist. of Ind. Shipping and Maritime Activity*, p. 51; R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Ch. VII (The Overseas Empire of Kaliṅga).

[2] *Varman* originally is a nominal addition used exclusively by the Kṣatriyas, as against *śarman* by the Brāhmaṇas, *gupta* by the Vaiśyas and *dāsa* by the Śūdras. This was for the ritual purposes (*cf. Śrāddhatattvaṁ, śarmāntaṁ Brāhmaṇasya syād varmāntaṁ Kṣatriyasya ca gupta-dāsāntakaṁ nāma praśastaṁ Vaiśya-Śūdrayoḥ*). Later, however, *varman* denoted simply that the bearer belonged to a ruling class, irrespective of caste. The Pallavas themselves were Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja Gotra.

We may now observe the evidence, afforded by the inscriptions, with regard to the early stage of Hindu culture in the countries of Further India and the Indian Archipelago. Religion has all along been the pivot round which all the activities of the Hindus revolve. The same is noticeable in the lands and islands that came under their influence. Although ever since the time of Aśoka (*c.* 250 B.C.) Buddhism had been spreading far and wide outside India, yet according to epigraphical evidence, it was Brahmanism that was first to reach the countries under discussion. This colonial Brahmanism expresses itself in three main forms: Śivaism, Viṣṇuism and the Cult of Agastya. All of them had their origin in India. The worship of Śiva, chiefly in the form of *liṅga,* grew in those countries as popular as it was in India. It is in the My-son stele inscription of king Bhadravarman that we first come across a reference to a sanctuary of Śiva. It was called Bhadreśvara and is no doubt the same temple in front of which the inscribed stele was found. Many a Śiva sanctuary was subsequently built in Campā, to which the records make frequent reference. Next comes Vaprakeśvara, as stated in one of the inscriptions of king Mūlavarman of East Borneo. But as has already been observed, it is not absolutely certain whether it refers to a Śiva temple. In Java it is in the 8th century, *viz.* in the Changal inscription, that a Śiva sanctuary and a *liṅga* are clearly mentioned. No special reference is made in the inscriptions to Durgā, Skanda and Gaṇeśa who share honour with Śiva. The very presence of their statues in Śiva sanctuaries show that they, too, were adored. Among them the Mahiṣāsuramardinî aspect of Durgā is the commonest. The worship of Śiva's foot-prints is perhaps unknown in India proper, but it did exist in Indo-China. In a record of Kambodia, *viz.* in the Bayang inscription (which contains two dates: the Śaka years 526 and 546, *i.e.* 604 and 624 A.D.) mention is made of a donation of a Śivapāda.[1] Another stele has been found there, which bears a pair of foot-prints crudely engraved, and above it a line of Pallava-Grantha writing: *śivapādadvayāmbhojaṁ* 'Śiva's two lotus-feet'.[1]

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[1] B. R. Chatterji, *Ind. Cult. Infl. in Cambodia,* p. 46.

It is again in Indo-China that an early document testifies to the worship of Viṣṇu, existent there. The inscription of Guṇavarman, which is estimated to belong to the second half of the 5th century, clearly mentions a sanctuary and the foot-impresses of Viṣṇu under the name of Cakratîrthasvāmin. This holy place must have enjoyed a wide renown in the neighbouring countries, as it was established by the ruling king who also attached donations to it. The gold figure of Viṣṇu found in East Borneo is another piece of evidence regarding the early existence of the worship of this god in the countries of the Far East. His incarnations, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, also shared popular worship, as is evident from the scenes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of the *Kṛṣṇāyana* depicted at Parambanan and Panataran in Java.[2] Further epigraphical evidence about Viṣṇuism is very vague. The inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman in fact contain no indication either of Śivaism or of Viṣṇuism. Still the latter has a slight possibility on the following considerations: (*a*) Pūrṇavarman's epithet *vikrānta* perhaps alludes to the Trivikrama incarnation of Viṣṇu; (*b*) his foot-prints carved over the inscription on the same boulder at Ci-Arutön are likened to those of Viṣṇu (*Viṣṇoriva padadvayam*); (*c*) the custom of engraving foot-prints is more commonly associated with Viṣṇuism than with Śivaism. The inscription as well as the symbols engraved on the rock near the fountain of Tuk Mas in Central Java are of a mixed character. Most of the carved emblems such as the lotus, the wheel, the mace, are certainly connected with Viṣṇu. The spread of Viṣṇuism as well as of other sects in countries like Siam, Campā and Kambodia is fully discussed in the recent publications, dealing separately with the cultural history of every one of the countries mentioned. The worship of Viṣṇu, on the whole, has always occupied a subordinate position in Further India and Indonesia.

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[1] *Corp. Inscr. Cambodge*, Vol. II, pl. LXIX; *BEFEO*, Vol. XII, No. 3, p. 4; Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 47.

[2] N. J. Krom, *Hind.-Java. Gesch.*, p. 288.

The Cult of Agastya, on the contrary, found a most congenial home in these lands, especially in Java. The Vedic name of Agastya is Mānya. He figures in many a myth in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. He is otherwise known as Pitcher-born (Kumbhasambhava, Kalaśayoni, etc.). He is regarded as the presiding deity of the southern region.[1] On the mountain Kuñjara in South India he is described to have his abode.[2] He subdued the demon Vātāpi, prevented the mountain Vindhya from growing, drank up the ocean, and performed like miracles. These myths have an astronomical bearing. He is described in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XII, 7ff.) as Canopus, one of the most brilliant stars. He functions after the monsoons are over. Waters grow serene on the rise of Agastya (*Agastyodaye jalāni prasîdanti ityāgamaḥ, cf.* the *Bṛhatsanṁhitā* as quoted above).

His worship in South India was, however, not so widespread as it later grew in Java. Mostly he appears as a companion of Śiva, but also enjoys undivided adoration, especially in the later period. The Dinaya inscription (760 A.D.), for instance, records the erection of the statue of Agastya alone and of a house for the twice-born (*dvijānāṁ bhavanamapi*). A reference to Agastya in an earlier inscription is not known. The cult of Agastya in the Malay Archipelago is a fascinating subject which has attracted special attention. Although much has been written about it, it still requires a more comprehensive study.[3] Bhṛgu in Campā and Hiraṇyadāman in Kambodia occupy the same position as Agastya does in Java. Dr. Bosch has suggested the probability of a common origin of these three sages.[4]

Buddhism may have penetrated into these countries about the same time as Brahmanism, but no epigraph to attest this has so far come to light. The standing bronze Buddha image recently

[1] *Cf. Brahmapurāṇa : Agastyo dakṣiṇāmāśāmāśritya nabhasi sthitaḥ. Varuṇasyātmajo yogî Vindhya-Vātāpimardanaḥ.*

[2] *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 41, 50 ; *tataḥ Śakradhvajākāraḥ Kuñjaro nāma parvataḥ Agastyabhavanaṁ yatra nirmitaṁ Viśvakarmaṇā.*

[3] The works already written: Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya in den Archipel*; Bosch, in *Tijdschrift.*, Vol. LXIV.

[4] B. R. Chatterji, *Ind. Cult.*, etc. p. 80.

discovered in Celebes[1] at least points, through its style, to a much earlier period than any other Buddha statue found in the neighbouring islands. The period, of which we possess some definite information regarding the existence of Buddhism in these eastern regions, begins from the fifth century A.D. In the history of the Southern Tsi (479-501 A.D.) of China, with reference to Fou-nan, it is stated: 'In 484 A.D. Jayavarman sent the Indian monk Śākya Nāgasena to present a memorial (in the Imperial Court) which began with a panegyric of the Emperor as one of the patrons of Buddhism, in whose empire the Law flourished more and more'.[2] As discussed elsewhere, we possess an inscription of this king Jayavarman who, as M. Coedès has pointed out, belonged to the Fou-nan dynasty. This is approximately the same period to which the two Buddhist inscriptions found in Malacca, *viz.* that from Kedah and that of the sea-captain Buddhagupta, may be ascribed. The existence of Buddhism in West Borneo about the 6th century A.D. is proved by the similar short Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on a rock near Batoe Pahat. For the next century we possess some properly dated and more detailed epigraphs. In Kambodia, the Vat Prey Vier Sanskrit inscription, dated in the Śaka year 586, *i.e.* 664 A.D., speaks of two *bhikṣus,* real brothers (*sodarau*), Ratnabhānu and Ratnasiṁha by name.[3] The next dated Buddhist records almost all belong to the Śailendra kings of Śrîvijaya. The earliest among them are composed in Old-Malay. Of the two found in Palembang (Śrîvijaya proper) in Sumatra, *viz.* that from Kedukan Bukit, dated in the Śaka year, 605, *i.e.* 683 A.D., and that from Talang Tuwo, dated in the Śaka year 606, *i.e.* 684 A.D., it is the latter that records the laying out of a charitable park and in connexion therewith employs several exclusively Buddhistic terms. That is a fair proof of the prevalence of Buddhism in that part of Sumatra in those days. A similar Old-Malay inscription of Śrîvijaya, dated the Śaka year 608, *i.e.* 686 A.D., found at Kota Kapur in the island of Bangka, contains no such clear indication as that of Talang Tuwo, yet its presence points to the existence of Buddhism in that island, too; for the rulers of Śrîvijaya appear to have been great patrons of Buddhism. About a century later appears the Sanskrit inscription of Ligor in Malacca, dated in the Śaka year 697, *i.e.* 775 A.D., which belongs to the Śailendra king Viṣṇu or Viṣṇuvarman as the newly discovered cornelian seal suggests. It testifies to the expansion of the Empire of Śrîvijaya and at the same time to that of Buddhism; for, it records the erection of some edifices dedicated to Śākyamuni and his two attendants, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi. Three years later, according to the Kalasan inscription, dated in the Śaka year 700, *i.e.* 778 A.D., a temple was built to the Buddhist goddess Tārā in Central Java by a Śailendra king. Four years hereafter a statue of Mañjuśrî was dedicated by one Kumāraghoṣa in the same vicinity, as is stated in the Kelurak inscription, dated in the Śaka year 704, *i.e.* 782 A.D., in which also a Śailendra king figures.[1] We restrict our survey to this period.

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[1] Bosch, *Tijdschrift.,* Vol. LXXIII (1933), pp. 495-513, with two pls.

[2] B. R. Chatterji, *op. cit.,* p. 22.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 55; Bergaigne, *Inscr.,* pp. 61-62.

As in India, so in Java and Sumatra, Hînayāna preceded Mahāyāna. No inscription has, however, come down to us, bespeaking in clear terms the existence of the Hînayāna form of Buddhism in the islands in question. From Chinese sources[2] it is known that the School of the Sarvāstivādins which belongs to the Hînayāna was prevalent in Java. From the 7th century onwards we hear only of the Mahāyāna form existing in those islands. The Old-Malay inscription of Talang Tuwo is the first to furnish this sort of information. The Mahāyāna received a great impetus under the Śailendras. Their own records and monuments, including some from India, shed important light on this question. The Nālandā copperplate grant of the Pāla king Devapāladeva refers to a *vihāra* built there by a Śailendra king, and later another similar document records the erection of a *vihāra* at Nāgîpaṭṭana in the Coḷa country.[3] A Nepalese manuscript, containing miniature paintings of famous Buddhist sanctuaries and deities worshipped in India and abroad, mentions temples raised to Avalokiteśvara in Kaṭāha and Śrīvijayapura.[1] This may quite well refer to some Buddhist shrines built by the Śailendras. Though the manuscript is much later, the sanctuaries depicted in the miniatures must have existed in the 6th and 7th centuries. The same manuscript mentions a sanctuary at the mount Potalaka, which is mentioned by Hiuen-Tsiang, too.[2] Since this Chinese pilgrim travelled in India in the first half of the 7th century, it shows that the Buddhist shrines mentioned in the Nepalese manuscript may have been in existence a considerable time anterior to the date of the manuscript in question.

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[1] Bosch, *Tijdschrift.*, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 1ff.

[2] Krom, *Hindu-Java. Gesch.*, p. 108.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

What is characteristic of this colonial Brahmanism and Buddhism is that they present a blending which is unknown in India. Śiva and Buddha are often represented as identical. Mañjuśrî, for example, in the Kelurak inscription is praised in these terms: *ayaṁ sa vajradhṛk śrî-mān Brahmā Viṣṇur Maheśvaraḥ*. Moreover Avalokiteśvara seems to occupy the same place in Buddhism as Agastya in Brahmanism. The latter appears as an attendant to Śiva in the same manner as Avalokiteśvara to Śākyamuni. Then again they are worshipped separately as saviours of the world. They have several characteristics in common, but we cannot enter into details in the present treatise.

The exclusive use of Sanskrit in the early inscriptions is noteworthy. No Indian Prākrit is represented. It is well known that in the inscriptions of India, first Prākrit was employed, next Prākrit and Sanskrit mixed, and finally pure Sanskrit. The same order is observed in the Pallava records. From the 7th century onwards the copperplate charters of this dynasty are partly in Tamil. About the same time the indigenous languages make their appearance in the epigraphs of the countries overseas, *e.g.* Old-Malay in Sumatra, Khmer in Kambodia, Cham in Campā and Old-Javanese or Kawi in Java.

The Sanskrit records found in those foreign lands evince a fair knowledge of the language on the part of their authors. This can be said with emphasis in refence to Campā and Kambodia where from the very beginning the inscriptions are both extensive and ornate in style. Records like that of Changal in Java and that of Ligor in Malacca possess even poetic merit. In all probability the authors of such compositions belong to the immigrants from India proper, though it is admissible that some of the natives, too, may have acquired enough efficiency in Sanskrit. Java seems to have been a great centre of Sanskrit studies in those days. According to the Sung biography,[1] Jñānabhadra, who collaborated with Hwui-ning in translating the Āgama texts of the Nirvāṇa of Buddha and initiated Yunk'i, was a native of Java. This may afford some estimation of the scholarship of the native students of Sanskrit. The various works in Old-Javanese dealing with Sanskrit grammar, lexicography, prosody, etc.,[2] make the impression that they were originally intended for the use of indigenous scholars.

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[1] A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconogr. Bouddhique*, Paris, 1900.

[2] *Ibid.*, *cf.* also Beal, *Records*, Vol. II, p. 233.

A direct reference to any Sanskrit work having been introduced from India proper is seldom met with in the inscriptions of the countries under discussion. Still there can be no denying that this did happen. The Old-Javanese literature, which has not yet been completely investigated, abounds in *Kakawins* which are for the most part adaptations of Sanskrit *Mahākāvyas.*[3] The great popularity gained by the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in the islands of Java and Bali is evident from the fact that they have occupied the position of national epics there.

The inscriptions from Campā and Kambodia are more instructive in this regard. Bhadravaraman (*c.* 400 A.D.), in the My-son stele inscription, is called *cāturvaidya* 'versed in the four Vedas'. The expression *agnaye tvā*, etc. in his rock-inscription of Cho Dinh is a quotation from the *Yajurveda*. In Kambodia, in the Veal Kantel inscription of circa 6th century, one Ākṛtisvāmin is said to be versed in *the Sāmaveda*.[2] In the same inscription it is stated that 'with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇa* he gave the complete [*Mahā*]*bhārata* and arranged for a daily recitation without interruption.' The name of the *Purāṇa* has not been specified, but the reference to the two well-known epics of India is not without interest.

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[1] Krom, *Hindu-Java. Gesch.*, pp. 107, 108.

[2] C. C. Berg, *Inleid, t.d. Studie v.h. Oud-Javaansch*, 1928; *Hindu Literature in Java*, in the Jour. *Ind. Art & Letters*, Vol. V (1932), p. 122.

[3] B. R. Chatterji, *Ind. Cultur. Infl. in Cambodia*, p. 38.

Besides, various references to Indian mythology are found in many of the documents; e.g. Aṁśumant and Bhagîratha in the inscriptions of Mūlavarman; Raghu in the Changal inscription; Dalîpa, Māndhātṛ, Droṇa, Aśvatthāman, Daśartha, Rāma, etc. in the My-son stele inscription of Prakāśadharman (579 Śaka).

The Sanskrit names (most of which are even now current, though in a corrupted form) given to cities, rivers, mountains, etc. in the countries overseas is a suitable subject for a separate investigation.

APPENDIX

FOUR YŪPA INSCRIPTIONS OF KING MŪLAVARMAN

A

Plate 8

Text

1 śrīmataḥ śrī-narendrasya
2 Kuṇḍuṅgasya mahātmanaḥ
3 putrośvavarmmo(ā) vikhyātaḥ
4 vaṅśakartā yathāṅśumān
5 tasya putrā mahātmānaḥ
6 trayas=traya ivāgnayaḥ
7 teṣān=trayānām=pravaraḥ
8 tapo-bala-damānvitaḥ
9 śrī-Mūlavarmmā rājendro
10 yaṣṭvā bahusuvarṇṇakam
11 tasya yajñasya yūpo=yam
12 dvijendrais=samprakalpitaḥ

Note: In line 10, *yaṣṭvā* is a mistake for *iṣṭvā*.

Translation

"The illustrious lord-of-men, the mighty great Kuṇḍuṅga, had a famous son, Aśvavarman (by name), who, like unto Aṁśumant, was the founder of a noble race. His were three eminent sons resembling the three sacrificial fires. Foremost amongst these three and distinguished by austerity, strength and self-restraint was the illustrious Mūlavarman, the lord-of-kings, who had performed a Bahusuvarṇaka sacrifice. For that sacrifice this sacrificial post has been established by the eminent Brāhmaṇas."

B

Plate 9

TEXT

1 śrīmato nṛpa-mukhyasya
2 rājñaḥ śrī-Mūlavarmmaṇaḥ
3 dānaṁ puṇyatame kṣetre
4 yad=dattam=Vaprakeśvare
5 dvijātibhyo=gni-kalpebhyaḥ
6 viñśatiñ=gosahasrikam
7 tasya puṇyasya yūpo=yam
8 kṛto viprair=ihāgataiḥ

TRANSLATION

"When the illustrious and eminent prince, King Mūlavarman, had given a gift of twenty thousand kine to the Brāhmaṇas who resemble the sacrificial fire, at the most sacred place (named) Vaprakeśvara,—for that deed of merit this sacrificial post has been made by the priests who had come hither."

C

Plate 10

TEXT

1 śrīmad-virāja-kīrtteḥ
2 rājñaḥ śrī-Mūlavarmmaṇa[ḥ] puṇyam
3 sṛṇvantu vipramukhyāḥ
4 ye c=ānye sādhavaḥ puruṣāḥ
5 bahudāna-jīvadānam
6 sa-kalpavṛkṣam sa-bhūmidānañ=ca
7 teṣām=puṇyagaṇānām
8 yupo=yaṁ sthāpito vipraiḥ

TRANSLATION

"Let the foremost priests and whosoever other pious men (there be) hear of the meritorious deed of Mūlavarman, the king of illustrious and resplendent fame—(let them hear) of his great gifts: Bahudāna, Jīvadāna, Kalpavṛkṣadāna and Bhūmidāna. For these multitudes of pious deeds this sacrificial post has been set up by the priests."

D

TEXT

1 Sagarasya yathā rājñaḥ
2 samutpanno Bhagīrathaḥ
3 ....
4 Mūlavarmma ....

TRANSLATION

"As Bhagīratha was born to King Sagara....Mūlavarman..."

Note: This inscription is mostly damaged. Possibly, in common with the other *yūpa* inscriptions of Mūlavarman, this one also recorded some pious gift of him.

THREE MORE YŪPA INSCRIPTIONS OF KING MŪLAVARMAN

Prof. Dr J. Ph. Vogel has already pubilshed four *yūpa* inscriptions of King Mūlavarman from Kutei, East Borneo.[1] They were discovered as early as June 1879. Three of them are complete and one fragmentary. They were first dealt with by Prof. Dr. H. Kern in 1880.

As late as 1940, three more similar inscribed *yūpas* came to light.[2] In July, 1941, I received a set of excellent inked estampages of them from Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Director of Archæology in Netherlands East Indies, Batavia, Java. He wished me to edit these records for their newly started epigraphical series, entitled *Inscripties van Nederlandsch-Indië,* of which the first number appeared in 1940. Subsequently the war situation grew worse and communication between Java and India broke down. And there was no telling as to when the normal conditions would be restored. Considering the importance of the inscriptions, I thought, I should no longer keep the discovery to my self. I therefore decided to publish them provisionally in the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, reserving the full treatment for the afore-mentioned Dutch publication or the *Epigraphia Indica.*

One of these three epigraphs is complete, one is slightly damaged, and the third, the longest and the most important of the lot, is much effaced. Their script, language and style are, as is to be expected, quite similar to those of the already published records. Like these, the present ones also record certain pious gifts of King Mūlavarman. Below I give their texts, adding my notes and translations.

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[1] *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië,* Vol 74 (1918), pp. 167-232 with three facsimile plates. The article is in English.

[2] The discovery has been announced in the *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1940 of the Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië pp. 32 and 40, also in the *Jaarboek* VIII 1941 of the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, pp. 103 and 136. Again this has been referred to by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal in *Journ. Gr. Ind. Soc.,* Vol. IX (1942) p. 117.

A

Plate 11

TEXT

1 Jayaty=atiba[laḥ]
2 śrīmān=śrī-Mūlavarmma-nṛ [paḥ]
3 yasya likhitāni
4 dānāny=asmin=mahati[sthale]
5 Jaladhenuṅ=ghṛtadhe[nuṁ]
6 kapilādānan=tath=aiva ti[ladānam]
7 vṛṣabh=aikādaśam=a[pi yo]
8 datvā vipreṣu rājendra[ḥ]

NOTES

The readings within the brackets are conjectural. The inscription consists of two verses, the first being in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre and the second in the *Āryā* metre. The second and fourth quarters of the first verse are irregular. The second verse obviously forms a dependent clause, but the construction is not a happy one. The rule of *sandhi* has not been observed in *śrīmān=śrī-*, l. 2. The form *datvā* l. 8, may be corrected into *dattvā*. In *vipreṣu* l.8, the locative has been used instead of the dative. The word *dhenu* in the expressions *jaladhenuṅ=ghṛtadhenuṁ*, l. 5, has been used in the technical sense, as a synonym of *dāna*. The opening words of the inscription echo the first *pāda* of the following stanza in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*:

> jayaty=atibalo Rāmo Lakṣmaṇaś=ca mahābalaḥ
> rājā jayati Sugrīvo Rāghaveṇ=ābhipālitaḥ
> (*Sundarakāṇḍa*, XLII, 33)

TRANSLATION

"Hail to the mighty king, the illustrious Mūlavarman of exalted rank, whose gifts have been recorded at this holy spot after he, the most excellent king, has bestowed on Brāhmaṇas the gifts of water, ghee, tawny cows and sesame seeds as well as eleven bulls."[3]

B

Plate 12

TEXT

1 Śrī-Mūlavarmmaṇā rājñā
2 yad=dattan=tilaparvvatam
3 sa-dīpamālayā sārddham
4 yupo=yaṁ likhitas=tayoḥ

NOTES

The inscription consists of one verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The word *parvata* has been used in the neuter gender, while correctly it should be in the masculine gender. The compound *sa-dīpamālayā* is irregular, the addition of *sa* in the beginning being redundant. The dual number in the last word is synthetically wrong, though the sense is clear.

TRANSLATION

"The illustrious king Mūlavarman gave away in charity a heap of sesame seeds together with a multitude of lamps. This *yūpa* has been engraved upon (*and set up in commemoration*) of those two (gifts)."[4]

C

Plate 13

TEXT

1 Śrī-Mūlavarmma rājendra[ḥ*] sama(re) jitya pārtthi-
[vān]

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[3] The gifts mentioned here are quite after the injunctions of the *Smrtis;* cf. *Manusmriti*, IV, 229, 233, etc.

[4] Ibid. IV, 229 which speaks of the gifts of *Tilas* and *Dīpas*.

2 karadāṁ nṛpatīṁś=cakre yathā rājā Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ
3 Catvāriṁśat=sahasrāṇi sa dadau Vapprakeśvare
4 bā...... triṁśat=sahasrāṇi punar=ddadau
5 ...... sa punar=jīvadānaṁ prithagvidhaṁ
6 ākāśadīpaṁ dharmmātmā pārtthivendra[ḥ*] svake pure
7 .... mahātmanā
8 yūpo=yaṁ sth[āpito] viprair=nnānā ...ih=ā [gataiḥ*]

NOTES

Apart from the lacunae, the reading given above is doubtful in certain places. The inscription comprises four verses in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. It contains several mistakes of grammar and orthography. The form *jitya* l. I, is a mistake for *jitvā,* but the correct form would militate against the metre. In *karadāṁ* l. 2, the final *n* is wrongly replaced by *anusvāra.* In *rājendra,* l. 1, and *pārtthivendra* l. 6, the sign of *visarga* is omitted. In *prithagvidham,* 1. 5, the first syllable should be *pṛ.* The expression *karadān=nṛpatīṁś=cakre,* l. 2, is reminiscent of Māgha's *karadīkṛta-bhūpālo,* etc., (*Śiśupālavadha,* II, 9) describing Yudhiṣṭhira himself. The similarity, however, is accidental; for, Māgha is later than Mūlavarman by about five hundred years, and there is no likelihood of the former's having known the present inscription. Anyway, in this case it is poetry that is found echoing epigraphy and not *vice versa.*[5]

TRANSLATION

"The illustrious monarch Mūlavarman, having conquered (*other*) kings in the battlefield, made them his tributaries, as did king Yudhiṣṭhira. At Vaprakeśvara[6] he donated forty thousand....; he again donated thirty thousand. The pious king once again (performed?) *Jīvadāna*[7] of different kinds, and illumination[8] in his own town.... by the pious one. This *Yūpa* has been erected by the *brāhmaṇas* who have come here (from) different (parts)."

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[5] Mr. C. Sivaramamurti in his recently issued book, entitled *Epigraphical echoes of Kalidasa,* Madras, 1944, has collected numerous passages from various inscriptions, that echo expressions in the works of Vālmiki, Kālidāsa, Daṇḍin, etc.

[6] This is the name of the holy place where Mūlavarman performed charities. It occurs also in one of his already published inscriptions, where it is described as Puṇyatama Kṣetra.

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[7] This gift is mentioned also in one of the previously published inscriptions and has been explained, not without a misgiving, by Prof. Kern and Prof. Vogel as "gift of live animals" and "gift of cattle (?)" respectively. Can it mean "amnesty" or "setting aside of the death sentence"?

[8] I am not quite sure of the significance of the term *Ākāśadīpa* here.

CI-ARUTAN ROCK INSCRIPTION OF PŪRṆAVARMAN

Plates 14-15

The huge boulder on which the inscription is engraved is lying in the Ci-arutan stream, not far from the village of Kampong Gradak in West Java. The inscription consists of four lines, each line containing one quarter of a verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. Above the inscription is engraved a pair of human foot-prints, which is the subject matter of the inscription. In front of the foot-prints there is a short line of another inscription in ornamental script. This is supposed to contain the name *śrī-Pūrṇavarmā.* The main inscription is in Pallava-Grantha characters and in the Sanskrit language. Palæographically it may be assigned to about the end of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT

1 vikkrāntasy=āvanipateḥ
2 śrīmataḥ Pūrṇṇavarmmaṇaḥ
3 Tārūma-nagar-endrasya
4 Viṣṇor=iva pada-dvayam

TRANSLATION

"This pair of foot-prints, like that of Viṣṇu, belongs to the illustrious king Pūrṇavarman, the lord of Tārūmanagara."

JAMBU ROCK INSCRIPTION OF PŪRṆAVARMAN

Plate 16

This inscription is engraved at the top of a hill that goes by the name of Pasir Koleangkak near Jambu in West Java. It consists of two long lines, comprising a verse in the *Sragdharā* metre. Like the Ci-arutan rock inscription, the present one also has the pair of foot-prints of the king Pūrṇavarman for its subject. It is likewise in Sanskrit and in Pallava-Grantha characters of about the fourth century A.D.

Text

1 śrīmān=dātā kṛtajño narapatir=asamo yaḥ-purā
Tārumāyān=nāmnâ śrī-Pūrṇṇavarmmâ prachura-ripu-
śarābhedya-vikhyāta-varmmā

2 tasy=edam=pāda-bimba-dvayam=ari-nagar-otsādane
nitya-dakṣam=bhaktānāṁ yandri (yan=nṛi)pāṇām=
bhavati sukha-karaṁ śalya-bhūtaṁ ripūṇām

Translation

"This is the pair of foot-prints of the glorious king of Tārumā, the illustrious Pūrṇavarman by name, who used to be liberal in giving gifts, who was ever grateful for and appreciative of the services rendered to him, whose armour was famed to be impregnable by the arrows of the hosts of foes, (*and*) who (*thus*) enjoyed the unique position—the paid of foot-prints, that was ever capable of exterpating the cities of (*his*) enemies, (*and*) that was always as great a source of joy to his faithful allies as it was a veritable thorn in the side of his adversaries."

KEBON-KOPI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF PŪRṆAVARMAN

Plate 17

The fragment of rock on which this unique inscription is incised is lying in a forest between the two streams, the Ci-arutan and the Ci-sadane. Long ago, the jungle was cleared around this spot for growing coffee. Hence it came to be known as Kebon-Kopi or the Garden-of-Coffee. The inscription is unique in the sense that it immortalises the foot-prints of Pūrṇavarman's favourite elephant who bore the dignified name of Jayaviśāla or Victory-Great. The line of inscription is hemmed in between two life-size foot-prints of the elephant. Presumably these represent the front two. The language and the script are the same as are found in the other inscriptions of the king Pūrṇavarman. The inscription is partly damaged.

TEXT

....Jayaviśālasya Tārum-endrasya hastinaḥ
....[Airā]vat-ābhasya vibhāt=īdam=pada-dvayam

TRANSLATION

"Here shines forth this pair of foot?prints of Jayaviśāla, the elephant of the Lord of Tārumā, like that of (*the god Indra's elephant*) Airāvata."

TUGU STONE INSCRIPTION OF PŪRṆAVARMAN

Plate 18

The conical stone containing this inscription was found at the village of Tugu in the district of Bekasih in 1911. It is now kept in the Museum at Jakarta. The inscription consists of five lines, containing five verses in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The language is Sanskrit. Though it contains a date, yet it does not admit of verification. Palæographically the inscription belongs to the 4th century A.D. Its object is to record the excavation of a canal, named Gomatī, by the king Pūrṇavarman. Its script is the same Pallava-Grantha.

TEXT

1 purā rājādhirājena guruṇā pīnabāhunā
khātā khyātām purīm prāpya

2 Candrabhāgārṇṇavaṁ yayau
pravarddhamāna-dvāviṅśad-vatsare śrīguṇaujasā
narendradhvajabhūne(te) na

3 śrīmatā Pūrṇṇavarmmaṇā
prārabhya Phālguṇe(ne) māse khātā kṛṣṇāṣṭamī-tithau
Caitra-śukla-trayodaśyām dinais=siddhaikaviṅśakaiḥ

4 āyatā ṣaṭ-sahasreṇa dhanuṣā[ṁ] sa-śatena ca
dvāviṅśena nadī ramyā Gomatī nirmalodakā
pitāmahasya rājarṣer=vvidāryya śibirāvanim

5 brāhmaṇair=ggosahasrenā (ṇa) prayāti

TRANSLATION

"The Candrabhāgā (canal), formerly dug by the great king of kings, Pīnabāhu, passing along the famous city, flowed into the sea. The beautiful Gomatī (canal) with clear water, dug within 21 days — beginning from the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna to the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra — in the 22nd year of the prosperous reign of the illustrious Pūrṇavarman, glorious, virtuous and powerful as also most excellent among kings, — measuring in length 6122 *dhanuṣ* (bows), cutting across the cantonment of the grandfather, the saintly king, and having caused a great gift of 1000 cows to the Brāhmaṇas, is (now) flowing forth."

Some expressions in the inscription are not clear. The names of the canals are after the names of two of the well-known rivers of India, Candrabhāgā (Chenab) in the W. Panjab and Gomatī (Gomti) in the Uttar Pradesh.

BANGKOK MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAHENDRAVARMAN

Plate 19

On my way back from Indonesia to India in December 1960, I happened to stop for a couple of days at Bangkok. While there, I paid a visit to the National Museum of Thailand in company with Mr. Nirmal J. Singh, Press Attaché, Embassy of India in Thailand. We were cordially received and shown round by Prof. Luang Boribal Buribhand of that museum. I was sad to learn that there had recently been a conflagration in one wing of the great museum, causing considerable damage to valuable records and monuments. The gallery of stone inscriptions had also suffered much from that fire. As we were inspecting the exhibits in that gallery, my attention was suddenly attracted by a stone slab with a short early Sanskrit inscription, beautifully engraved in four lines. The same inscription forms the subject matter of the present paper.

The inscribed slab, I was told, had been newly acquired by the National Museum of Bangkok. I learnt further that it had not yet been published anywhere.

I am editing it at the instance of Mr. Nirmal J. Singh who was to supply me with a facsimile of the inscription as well as with the details as to the find-place and the circumstances of the discovery of the inscribed slab. I received from him an inked estampage of the inscription in February 1961, through the courtesy of Prof. Luang Boribal Buribhand. The accompanying photograph is a reproduction of the same estampage. This stone inscription had been found at Aranyaprades District (about 350 kilometres east of Bangkok) by Mr. Serie Naenhna, Assistant Curator of the Provincial Museum. He found it in the vicinity of Prasat Khao Chongsra Chaeng during his expedition last year.

The inscribed space measures 28 × 30 cm. The four lines of the inscription constitute but one stanza, each line containing one quarter of the verse, the metre being *Anuṣṭubh*. The alphabet is an ornamental type of what is commonly known as Pallava-Grantha of South India of about the seventh century A.D., and the language is Sanskrit, as already indicated. As to the contents, the inscription records the excavation of a tank, called *Saṅkara Taṭāka*, by Mahendravarman.

Even though there is no indication in the inscription as to the identity of this Mahendravarman, it is possible to identify him with the king Mahendravarman, of Kambuja or Kambujadeśa, i.e. Kambodia, son of Vīravarman and the youngest brother of Bhavavarman. This last mentioned ruler is reputed to have founded the dynasty of Kambuja kings, having defeated his rivals, of the earlier kingdom of Fu-nan.[1] It goes without saying that the present Thailand at that time formed part of Kambuja or Kambodia. Bhavavarman was succeeded by his youngest brother whose name was Citrasena and who assumed the second name Mahendravarman at the time of his coronation. The practice of assuming coronation names was in vogue in ancient India and was followed also in lands and islands that came under the Indo-Aryan influence. The reign period of this Citrasena-Mahendravarman falls between the closing years of the sixth century and the early years of the seventh century A.D.

It is further of interest to note here that the same Citrasena-Mahendravarman is known to us from two more stone inscriptions that have already been published. The earlier of these two is known so far in three versions and the later in as many as six versions.[2] Again, the earlier one mentions him only as Citrasena, indicating thereby that, by that time, he had not yet come to the throne. The later one expressly states 'that he was formerly known as Citrasena and assumed the name Mahendravarman at the time of coronation.[3] Since our inscription makes him already well-known as Mahendravarman, it may be taken to be the latest of the three inscriptions so far known of him. It is quite possible that the present inscription was also made available in more than one version like the other two and that some other version or versions of it may come to light in future.

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[1] Compare R. C. Majumdar's *Kambuja-desa* (or An Ancient Hindu Colony in Kambodia), Madras, 1944, pp. 47 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 54.

[3] *Ibid.*

The two inscriptions already known record each the establishment of a *Śivaliṅga* by the king, which shows that he was a devout worshipper of the god Śiva. His naming the tank, the excavation of which is the object of the present inscription, as *Śaṅkara Taṭāka,* accords well with that.

TEXT

yaś=śrī-Mahendravarmm=eti
Mahendra iva viśrutaḥ
sa Śaṅkarataṭāk-ākhyañ=
cakhān=emañ=jalāśayam

State Museum Library Lucknow 7100

TRANSLATION

"He, who is known as the illustrious
Mahendravarman, famous like Mahendra
(*i.e.* Indra, the Chief among the gods),
excavated this reservoir of water, named
Śaṅkara Taṭāka."

YŪPA INSCRIPTIONS

[This is reproduced from the *India Antiqua,* published in 1947 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's Doctorate.]

The magnificent contribution that Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel has made to revealing India's past has won him a very high place among the greatest of Indologists of our age. It is further a matter of extreme gratification that even at this advanced age he is ever active in his scholarly pursuits, and continues guiding and inspiring us by his own shining example. The thoroughness of his method of investigation and the restraint his pen exercises are indeed worthy of our emulation. On this happy occasion of the Golden Jubilee of his literary career, I cannot think of a more befitting tribute than to recall these characteristic traits of his scholarly make-up and, by way of illustration, point to one of his early essays in the field of Indological researches.

June 1910 saw a marvellous discovery in the shape of two stone *yūpas,* exhumed from their watery tomb in the river Yamunā, at Īsāpur, a suburb of the city of Mathurā in the United Provinces. They now adorn the Curzon Museum of Archæology at Mathurā. One of them bears an early Sanskrit inscription, complete and well-preserved, which at the time of its discovery ranked as the earliest of its kind. A masterly exposition as to what the inscription conveys and what purpose the two unique pillars, with their uncommon shape and peculiar carvings had served in the past, emanated from Prof. Vogel's pen almost on the heels of the discovery.[1]

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[1] *Annual Report, Archæological Survey of India,* 1910-11, pp. 40-8, with two plates.

Another stone *yūpa* was known at that time. It is inside the hill fort of Bijayagarh near Byānā in the Bharatpur State of Rājputāna, some fifty miles south-west of Mathurā. It had been discovered about forty years previously. It also bears a Sanskrit inscription, which in point of time is later than the Īsāpur *yūpa* inscription by 270 years. Although the inscription had been ably edited,[2] the full significance of the *yūpa* was brought out only by Prof. Vogel on the discovery of the Īsāpur *yūpas*.

Outside India proper, a group of four stone *yūpas* had been discovered as early as June 1879 somewehre in the native state of Koetei on the east coast of the island of Borneo in the Far East. These were later removed to the Museum at Batavia in Java. They likewise contain each a Sanskrit inscription of about the 4th century A.C. Their importance as precious documents had been duly recognized and they had been treated of by so great an authority as Prof. Dr. H. Kern, but it was too early then fully to appreciate the unique character of the antiquities. An exhaustive treatment of them, therefore, became a desideratum, which was supplied by Prof. Vogel.[3]

During the long interval between then and now, a good few more inscribed stone *yūpas* have come to light, both in India and abroad. The total number of the *yūpa* inscriptions so far discovered amounts to nineteen, sufficient to constitute a class by themselves. Those discovered in recent years have, with the exception of two or three, also been published. While it may be considered desirable now to bring out a monograph, consolidating the researches done on this particular type of epigraphs, a recapitulation of them in this short paper may not altogether be void of interest. It might, by drawing attention to their common characteristics and peculiar features, pave the way for the more ambitious plan.

The following list will give an idea of the distribution of the known *yūpa* inscriptions.

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[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 252-4, with one plate.

[3] *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Vol. 74, (1918), pp. 167-232, with three plates.

1 Īsāpur-Mathura, year 24=102 A.C.; *ARASI*–1910-11, 40-48.

2 Kosam-Allahabad, *c.* 125 A.C.; *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV, 245-51.

3–4 Nāndsā-Udaipur, year 282=225 A.C., *Indian Antiquary*, LVIII, 53.

5 Barnāla-Jaipur, year 284=227 A.C.; *EI*, XXVI, 119-20.

6–8 Baḍvā-Kotah, year 295=238 A.C.; *EI*, XXIII, 42-52.

9 Baḍvā-Kotah, *c.* 238 A.C.; *EI*, XXIV, 251-53.

10 Nagar-Jaipur, year 321=264 A.C.,; not yet published.

11 Barnāla-Jaipur, year 335=278 A.C.; *EI*, XXVI 121-23.

12 Bijayagaṛh-Bharatpur, year 428=371 A.C.; *CII*, III, 252-54.

13–16 Koetei-Borneo, *C.* 400 A.C.; *Bijdragen*, etc. LXXIV, 167-232.

17–19 Koetei-Borneo, *c.* 400 A.C.; *Journal of Greater India Society*, XII, 14-18.

All, except the last, are accompanied by facsimile plates. In the case of Nos. 3 and 4, the facsimile published is only of a portion of the first line of one of the two inscriptions. These are under publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. No. 10 is altogether unpublished yet.

The first thing that strikes us is that most of the *yūpa* records of India (3 to 12) are found within the bounds of Rājputāna, the first two only bordering on it. Those of Greater India (13 to 19) all hail from one and the same locality in East Borneo.

For the sake of convenience, we may divide our material into two natural groups: Indian and Indonesian. Before going into details of the inscriptions, we may examine the form of the pillars themselves. The perfect example is afforded by the Īsāpur pillar, which conforms in almost every detail to the description given in the Vedic texts such as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

The remaining ones of the Indian group have not all come to us in their entirety. They vary both in dimensions and in sculptural detalis. One common feature of all the Indian *yūpas* is, however, to be noticed in the fact that they are square below and octagonal above. Only the Nāndsā pillar is an exception. This one is round throughout. Besides those of the literary sources that have been noticed by the previous writers, there are some more that enlighten us as to the form and function of a *yūpa*. An interesting nomenclature concerning *yūpa*, for instance, is found in the Brāhmaṇa Adhyāya of the Bhūmikāṇḍa of Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī*, a well-known Sanskrit lexicon.[4]

Yūpo=strī saṁskṛita-stambho homayūpas=tu śaubhikaḥ ।
Yūpāv-agniṣu pārśva-sthāv=upasthāv=iti saṁjñitau ॥ 103

Agniṣṭham triṣu yūp--ādi yad-agneḥ sammukhe sthitam ।
Yūpa-madhyaṁ samādānaṁ yup-āgraṁ tarma na striyām ॥
104

Kaṭake=sya caṣālo-strī mūle tūparaṁ=akṣate ।
Veṣṭanaṁ tu parivyāṇam kumbā sugahanā vṛitiḥ ॥ 105

Yūpe saptadaś-āratnāv-aratnir-methiko-dharaḥ ।
Uttareṣāṁ kramād-ākhyā uttrāsaḥ svarumocanaḥ ॥ 106

Tath-āñjano vaiyathitaḥ kṣālanaḥ śavaśīrṣakaḥ ।
Suddhanvo rathagarutaḥ śaikhālīka-karañjakau ॥ 107

Vāsavo vaishṇavas=tvāṣṭraḥ saumyo mādhura-vejanau ।
.... ॥ 108

"While a *yūpa* is a consecrated sacrificial post, a *homayūpa* is one that is set up at sacrifices only for the sake of decoration. the two *yūpas* that flank every fire at sacrifices are known by the name Upastha. Whatever, *yūpa* and the like, stands in front of the fire, is called Agniṣṭha. The middle and the top of a *yūpa* are called Samādāna and Tarman respectively. The quoit or the ring near the top is known as Caṣāla. The rough unhewn bottom part of a *yūpa* is called *Tūpara*. Its girdle is known as Parivyāṇa, and wrappings Kumbā. If a *yūpa* is seventeen cubit long, these seventeen cubits, from bottom upwards, are designated Methika, Uttrāsa, Svarumocana, Añjana, Vaiyathita, Kṣālana, Śavaśīrṣaka, Suddhanva, Rathagaruta, Śaikhālīka, Karañjaka, Vāsava, Vaiṣṇava, Tvāṣṭra, Saumya, Mādhura and Vejana respectively."

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[4] The quotation is from Dr. Gustav Oppert's edition of the *Vaijayantî*, London, 1893, 91-2.

The very first statement in this description lends itself to the inference that, while there was one properly sanctified sacrificial post at a particular sacrifice, to which the victim was actually or symbolically fastened for immolation, there were numerous other wooden posts that were erected merely to decorate the *yajñabhūmi*. There must be more sacred fires than one on such a grand ceremony, each having a *yūpa* in front and on either side of it. An idea of the picturesque view that these ornamental posts might have presented may be gathered from the description of the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by Daśaratha, as given by Vālmīki in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[5]

Prāpte yūp-ócchraye tasmin ṣaḍ bailvāḥ khādirās-tathā ।
Tāvanto bilva-sahitāḥ parṇinas-ca tatha-āpare ॥

Śleṣmātakamayas=tv=eko devadārumayas=tathā ।
Dvāv=eva vîhitau tatra bāhu-vyasta-parigrahau ॥

Kāritāḥ sarva ev-aite śāstra-jñair=yajña-kovidaiḥ ।
Śobh-ārthaṁ tasya yajñasya kāñcan-ālaṁkṛitābhavan ॥

Ekaviṁśati-yūpās-ta ékaviṁśaty-aratnayaḥ ।
Vāsobhir-ekaviṁśadbhir=ek-aikaṁ samalaṁkṛitāḥ ॥

Vinyastā viddhivat sarve śilpibhiḥ sukṛitā dṛḍhāḥ ।
Aṣṭāśrayaḥ sarva eva ślakṣṇa-rūpa-samanvitāḥ ॥

Ācchāditās-te vāsobhiḥ puṣpair-gandhaiś-ca bhūṣitāḥ ।
Saptarṣayo dīptimanto virājante yathā divi ॥

[5] Bālakāṇḍa, XIV, 22-27. Rāvaṇa's son Meghanāda is credited with a number of Vedic sacrifices. His sacrificial grove is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* to be bristling with hundreds of *yūpas*. The vast number only denotes their decorative role. *Tato yūpa-śat-ākīrṇaṁ saumya-caitya-opaśobhitam / dadarśa viṣṭhitaṁ yajñaṁ śriyā saṁprajvalnn-iva //* Uttarakāṇḍa, XXV, 3).

We are told here that twenty-one *yūpas* were erected on this occasion. Every one of them was octagonal and twenty-one cubit long. They were draped each in a cloth and adorned with fruits, foliage and flowers. The simile in the last line is very significant. The twenty-one *yūpas* are likened to 'the seven *ṛiṣis*' (the constellation of Ursa Major, consisting of seven stars). The idea seems to be that each of the three sacred fires, Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya and Dakṣiṇa was allotted seven *yūpas*, which made it shine forth like the constellation named. There were thus three groups of seven each. In the two *bāhu-vyasta-parigrahau* posts we may recognize the two Upasthas, about which we have just read in the *Vaijayantī*. Of particular interest is the specific mention that these twenty-one *yūpas* were set up for beautifying the *yajña*, *śobh-ārthaṁ tasya yajñasya*. In other words, they were mere *homa-yūpas*, as the *Vaijayantī* would have it. I am laying stress on this point, because some writers, while interpreting the *yūpa* in its relation to Vedic sacrifices, could hardly dissociate themselves from the idea of animal sacrifice. The prescribed rules as to the shape and size were perhaps not rigidly to be followed in the case of decorative posts, much less in the case of their lithic representatives which were more in the nature of commemorative pillars. This must account for the variation in size and shape noticeable in their case. One of the points of disagreement shown in connection with the stone *yūpas* is that their lower part being square has no parallel in the wooden prototype. In my opinion, it represents the *tūpara*, whereby is meant the rough unchiselled part of the wooden *yūpa*, as we have seen from the *Vaijayantī*.

Coming now to the inscriptions, we observe that those of the Indian group are almost all dated. No. 1 refers itself to the reign of Vāsiṣka and dated in the 24th year of the Kuṣāṇa era, generally identified with the Śaka era. The remaining ones are dated in the Kṛta era which is supposed to stand for the Vikrama era.

No. 2 is a partly damaged record and the date, if there was one, is lost in the missing part. No. 9 has no date mentioned in it, but is associated with the other three dated ones from the same place (Nos. 6-8). The form *Kṛtehi* for *Kṛtaiḥ*, in denoting the year, found in the majority of the inscriptions is an archaism. Nos. 3 and 4 are both engraved on one and the same pillar, having an identical text. In the case of one, however, the year is mentioned both in words and in figures and the form employed is *Kṛtayor=dvayor=vvarṣa-śatayor=*, etc.; whereas in the case of the other it is indicated only in figures, introduced by the form *Kṛtehi.* The use of the instrumental case in such instances is noteworthy.

The royal families represented in these records are Kuṣāṇa (No. 1), Mālava (Nos. 3 and 4), Mokahri (Nos. 6-9) and one feudatory to the Imperial Gupta (No. 12). The sacrifices recorded are Dvādaśarātra, Saptasomasaṁsthā, Ekaṣaṣṭirātra, Aptoryāman, Puṇḍarīka and so forth. In two cases (Nos. 5 and 10) the name of the sacrifice performed is not specified, but the common term *sattra* is employed to indicate that the *yūpa* in question was in commemoration of a sacrifice. Nos. 6-9 and 11 also record gifts of cows as *dakṣiṇā*. The usage of the term *dakṣiṇya* in this connection in the sense of *dakṣiṇā*. is of considerable linguistic interest. There are more words and expressions in these inscriptions, that require explanation. Some of them have their echoes in the classical Sanskrit literature. The concluding prayer, *śraddhā-vitte syātām*, of No. 12, for instance, is reminiscent of Kālidāsa's

> *Diṣṭyā Śakuntalā sādhvī sad apatyam idam bhavān* ।
> *Śraddhā vittaṁ vidhiś=c=éti tritayaṁ tat samāgatam* ॥[6]

As to the Indonesian group, the whole lot belongs to one individual, namely King Mūlavarman. The recent addition of three *yūpas* to the four already known has contributed considerably to our knowledge of the cultural history of that far off region. In shape and size, these seven *yūpas* do not at all conform to the prescribed standard. They are crude shafts of stone, of modest dimensions. Of the inscriptions on them, only one records a sacrifice performed by Mūlavarman, while the rest all record the various gifts he made to the Brāhmaṇas. His gifts consisted of cows, bulls, land, lamps, ghee, sesame seeds and what not. Some of them are found enjoined in the *Manusmṛti*, while some others are mentioned among the traditional sixteen *mahādānas* in the *Purāṇas*. His charities were performed at the holy place of Vaprakeśvara. The inscription recording his sacrifice also speaks of his parentage. He had two brothers and he was the eldest of the three. His father's name was Aśvavarman and grandfather's Kuṇḍuṅga. The particular sacrifice he performed is known as Bahusuvarṇaka. Prof. Kern identified it with Bahuhiraṇya which is a special kind of Soma sacrifice. I may add that it is mentioned also in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* under the very name of *Bahusuvarṇaka*, once in the description of the peaceful rule of Rāma:

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[6] *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, VII, 29.

> *Nityaṁ pramuditāḥ sarve yathā kṛita-yuge tathā* ।
> *Aśvamedha-śatair-iṣṭvā tathā Bahusuvarṇakaiḥ* ॥
> (Bālakāṇḍa I, 94)

and again in connection with the seven sacrifices performed by Meghanāda:

> *Agniṣṭomo-śvamedhaś-ca yajño Bahusuvarṇakaḥ* ।
> *Rājasūyas-tathā yajño Gomedho Vaiṣṇavas-tathā* ॥
> *Māheśvaro.............*
> (Uttarakāṇḍa XXV, 8-9)

The seven sacrifices named here are Agniṣṭoma, Aśvamedha, Bahusuvarṇaka, Rājasūya, Gomedha, Vaiṣṇava and Maheśvara. Its association with such prominent sacrifices indicates that Bahusuvarṇaka was of an equally high order; and that redounds to the credit of Mūlavarman.

TIRIYĀY ROCK-INSCRIPTION

Plate 20

(Originally published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica,* Vol. IV, 1943, pp. 312-17.)

Some time back I contributed a note to the *Epigraphia Indica,*[1] concerning the text of the Tiriyāy Rock-Inscription which has been edited by Mr. (now Dr.) S. Paranavitana.[2] It has been shown therein that the inscription is neither "fragmentary' nor 'in prose' as held by the learned Editor, but that it is almost entire and is wholly in verse except perhaps the eleventh or the last line, the first ten lines containing each a stanza in the *Nardaṭaka* metre. This observation was based on the text presented by Dr. Paranavitana as well as on the plate accompanying his paper. I could then also suggest some additions and alterations in the given text.

Later on an inked estampage of this huge inscription was kindly made available to me by Mr. A. H. Longhurst, Archæological Commissioner in Ceylon, Colombo, through Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. That has enabled me to study the record more closely and to make out its text more accurately. I, however, regret that, the estampage being much worn out through use, it has not been possible for me to restore the text completely. Even some of the deciphered portions are open to question. Still I venture to offer here my reading of the epigraph, believing that the present attempt will be found an appreciable improvement upon the previous one.

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[1] Vol. xxiii, pp. 196-197.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, pp. 151-160 and plate.

To the remarks made in my note referred to above I may now add that even the eleventh line contains a stanza which is in the *Upajāti* metre. Thus the whole inscription, except the phrase *abhāva-svabhāvās=sarvva-dharmmāḥ* at the end, is decidedly in verse. It may further be noticed that *sandhi* has not been observed in certain cases, e.g. *bhagavān tad* (lines 5, 6), that the forms of final *t*, *n*, and *m* are so indicated by their smaller size, and that there are several superfluous marks of punctuation in the inscription. This will be clear from the footnotes to the transcript given below, where some more peculiarities have also been pointed out.

The altered reading must necessitate several changes in Dr. Paranavitana's interpretation of the record. A few instances may be cited here. The fifth stanza has been fully deciphered. The sense of its first quarter, where *bimbadharo* has been read instead of *Buddhāṁkuro*, is now quite clear. It refers to a well-known attribute of Avalokiteśvara: 'who carries in his tiara a shining image of the Mahāmuni (the Buddha)'. It may, in passing, be remarked that the word *mañju-vāg-* (line 6), which has been rendered as 'of sweet speech', is like Mañjusvara and Mañjughoṣa,[3] another appellation of the youthful Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. The expression that follows the name Mañjuvāg describes him as "one who dispels passion, vice, and sorrow'. The line thus does not contain the doubtful term *dahara* or *dahra*. Moreover, it is now evident that the *Girikaṇḍi-Caitya* was the abode of the triad: the lord Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, and Mañjuśrī. Finally, attention may be drawn to the two names applied to the merchants' groups who are stated in the inscription to have built the *Girikaṇḍi-Caitya*. They have been made out as Trapussaka and Vallika, whereas I read them as Trapūssaka and Vallikaka. According to Dr. Paranavitana they 'seem to be corruptions of *Trapuṣa* and *Bhallika*, the names of the two merchants who offered food to the Buddha immediately after his enlightenment.' That they cannot be 'corruptions' is shown below. Furthermore, he holds the persons Trapussaka and Vallika to be identical with Trapuṣa and Bhallika. This implies that the *Girikaṇḍi-Caitya* was built in Ceylon during the very lifetime of the Buddha, which is simply incredible. It may be pointed out that each of the two names in the inscription has the plural termination by which more than two persons are meant. Dr. Paranavitana passes over this difficulty by assuming that the terms 'would be applicable to them (i.e. Trapuṣa and Bhallika) and to the merchants who accompanied them', which is not likely. It will be seen that in the present text the names Trapūssaka and Vallikaka show each an additional *ka* at the end as compared with the original terms Trapuṣa and Bhallika. Usually in corrupt forms elimination and not addition of certain syllables is noticeable. Hence the forms in question may not be corruptions. It is, I think, better to take Trapūssa and Vallika as variants of Trapuṣa and Bhallika and the final *ka* in the former two as a suffix indicating similitude.[4] We may thus have no difficulty in explaining the plural termination nor are we forced to conclude that the *Girikaṇḍi-Caitya* dates fro mthe time of the Buddha. It is, on the other hand, more natural to suppose that the inscription was caused to be incised by the very merchants who are said to have established the shrine, and that in their devotional ardour they compared themselves to the two merchants, Trapuṣa and Bhallika, famed in the Buddhist scriptures. Thus the closing decades of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth, the date assigned to the inscription, may be the approximate date of the shrine as well.

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[3] For these two names see Index to *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, translated by H. Kern in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxi.

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[4] Compare Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī, saṁjñāyām ca*. 5.3.97; or, as Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit kindly suggests to me, the expression may mean 'followers of Trapūssa and Vallika'.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1-10 *Nardaṭaka;* v. 11 *Upajāti,* being a combination of *Vaṁśastha* and *Upendravajrā*]

1 [5]Avirata-[6]bhakti-yukta-hṛdayair=avadāta-guṇaiḥ[7]
pratha[8]matara-pradāna-guṇa- [mūrtti] bhir=eka-gurau[9]
bhagavati Śākya-rāja-tilake Sugate sutarām=
adhigata-dhātu[ge] jva[10]lati sammukham=eva [munau?] [1*][11]

2 [12][Sa]lilanidhi-prayāṇ—caturaiḥ kraya-vikrayibhiḥ |[13]
bahu-vidha-yānapātra-paripūrita-bha(bhā)ṇḍa-śataiḥ
kuśala-vaśāt=sahāya-nija-devatay=ā(pi sa)dā[14] |
bhavati [bha]viṣyad-alpa-[Girika]ṇḍikam=ity=udite ||[2*]

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[5] This letter is undoubtedly an initial *a,* though its upper part looks blurred on the impression.

[6] A superfluous stroke is seen hanging down from the middle of the *bha,* which may in fact be a natural crack on the stone.

[7] The *visarga* is not very clear. The *daṇḍa* following it is not necessary.

[8] The rock shows a slightly slanting fissure which issues from the lower end of the *ta* and runs down across the next three lines.

[9] The *au-mātrā* in *rau* is not clear. On the impression it looks more like *o-mātrā.*

[10] Between the syllables *jva* and *la* occurs a big crack which runs across the first three lines.

[11] The close of each stanza in this inscription is marked by a triangular sign as is clearly seen below in lines 4-6 and 10. Traces of similar signs are discernible also in line 1-3, though here they appear linked up by a vertical line running across them.

[12] While the *sa* is not clear, there are traces of two superfluous syllables before it.

[13] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary, Read °*bhir=bau-.*

[14] The reading *devatay=āpi sádā* is not certain. The following *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

3 [Sali]lanidhīs[15]=taha(taḥ?) samavatīryya sameta-guṇaiḥr=[16]
upagata[17]-nāga-rajā[18]-sabhi(hi)tair=upaśāntatarais=[19]
ta(d=ap)i vaṇig-gaṇaiḥ kṛtam=idaṁ pravibhāti mudā
vara-Girika[ṇḍi-c]aityam=iti yat=prathitam=bhuvane ||
[3*]

4 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – [sa?][20]kalam=avṛta[m=amb]uruha- |
prakara-kṛt-opahāra-rucir=āṁgaṇa-bhūmi-talam |
satatam=abhiprasanna-nara-maṇḍala-bhakti-nataṁ
vari(ra)-Girikaṇḍi-caityam=abhinamya karomi natiṁ
(tim) || [4*]

5 Maku[ṭa]-maṇu kṛta-sphuṭa-Mahāmuni-biṁba-dharor |[21]
nivasati yatra siddha-sura-kinnara-pūjyatamaḥ |
gurur=Avalokiteśvara iti prathito bhagavān
tad=ahar-ahar=namāmi Girikaṇḍika-caityam=aham || [5*]

6 Munir=api Mañjuvāg=madana-doṣa-viṣāda-haraḥ[22]
kanaka-vibhūṣaṇ-ojva(jjva)la-vicitrita-gātra-rucir=[23]
nniyatam=upaiti[24] yatra sukumāra-tanur=bhagavān
tad=aham=api praṇaumi Girikaṇḍika-caitya-varam || [6*]

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[15] The sign between *dhī* and *sta* has been taken to be that for *annunāsika*.

[16] The *visarga* is redundant.

[17] The *ta* has a scratch over it.

[18] The *ā*-strokes in *-nāga-rāja* are not very a clear.

[19] Read *°raiḥ tad=*. The *ta* in *sta* is faint.

[20] The first eight letters of this line are entirely lost.

[21] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[22] A little space has been left blank between *-haraḥ* and *kanaka-*.

[23] A *daṇḍa* is visible after *-ruci*. Read *-ruciḥ/ni°*.

[24] The *u-mātrā* in the *ku* is not clear.

7 Surasarid-abja-parṇṇa-puṭa-pūrita-gandha-jalāḥ[25]
kara-bhṛta-puṣpa-dhūpa-maṇi-dīpa-nivedya-dharāḥ ।
sa-laḷi(li) tam=aṁganās=surapurād=avatīryya mudā
vidadhati pūjanāṁ bhagavato Girikaṇḍi-juṣaḥ ॥ [7*]

8 Surapa[26]tir=apy=aneka-parivā[27]ra-sur-ānugataḥ
sa-laḷi(li)ta-dvya-śaṁkha-paṭahaṁ pra[28]ṇidhāna-gataḥ[29] ।
surataru-sambhav-ārdra-kusuma-prakaraṁ vikiran[30]
vara-Girikaṇḍike praṇipatan=kurute sukṛtaṁ(tam) ॥ [8*]

9 Pratidinam=arcca(rcya)māṇam=ah[i]bh[i]r[31]=aneka[32]-śa
[taiḥ]
[33]aviraḷa(la)-Siṁghale(hale)ndra-jana-kalpita-pūjya-śa[34](tam) ।
viṣaya-niri(rī)ti-kāraṇam=upāsitam=āryya-śatair=
aham=api pūjayāmi Girikaṇḍi-gataṁ Sugata[ṁ](tam) ॥
[9*]

---

[25] Between *jālaḥ* and *kara-* some space has been left unengraved.

[26] While the syllable *ssu* is not very clear, the following *ra* is partly covered by the crack which runs below the next six letters.

[27] The *ā*-stroke in the *rā* is not clear.

[28] Between *pra* and *ṇi* there occurs a crack which extends down in the next line where it separates *ka* and *lpi* of the word *kalpita.*

[29] The *visarga* is not very clear.

[30] A superfluous *daṇḍa* is faintly visible after *vikiran.*

[31] Dr. Paranavitana reads here *pratidinam=arccamāna(ṁ) mahāgirau*, but that does not seem to be correct, because it does not fit in with the metre. Moreover, what he reads as *rau* is clearly *ra.* This line of the metre appears to be short of one short syllable.

[32] The letters *ne* and *ka* are separated by a crack which runs downwards across the next line separating there *da* and *[śa].*

[33] This letter is clearly an initial *a.* If the reading of the previous word is right, then we may read *-śatair=avirala-.*

[34] There is a big scratch here, which covers the letter following *śa* and runs horizontally up to the top of the next *vi.* A little space below the scratch is left uninscribed.

10 Sakala-tamo-[35]paham=bhagavato da[śa][36] – ∪ ∪ –
vara-Girikaṇḍi-caitya[ṁ][37] prati nimna-dhiyā ।
[38]∪ ∪ nuva[39]tām=a-yad=abhavat=kuśalam=praci[40]tam=
bha[41]vatu bhav-ābdhi-[42]duḥ[43]kha-parihi(hī)ṇam=a[44]nena jagat ॥
[10*]

11 Kṛta-prati[jñai] ∪ ma – [45]∪ – –
∪ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – [46]yana ।
Trapūssakair=Vvallika[47]kair=vvaṇi[48]g-gaṇaiḥ
kṛtaṁ kṛ[t-ārthai?]r=Girikaṇḍi-caityam ॥ [11*]
Abhāva-svabhāvās=sarvva-dharm[49]māḥ

---

[35] This *pa* looks more like *pi*.

[36] While *śa* can partly be made out, the next four letters are completely obliterated. After *bhagavato* there was perhaps *Daśabhūmi* or *Dasabhūmiga* which is an epithet of the Buddha.

[37] This letter has been rendered obscure by the crack over it.

[38] The second of these two syllables looks like *ti*. It can also be *ga* or *śá*. The probable reading is *iti* or *prati*.

[39] The crack which has also partly covered the perceding two *akṣaras* has obscured this one very much.

[40] A superfluous *daṇḍa* is discernible after *ta*.

[41] A scratch is seen below *va*.

[42] The *ā*-stroke in *vā* has been covered by a crack over it.

[43] The *visarga* is not quite clear.

[44] This *na* also looks like *ne*.

[45] Only the first four letters of this line of the verse are clear. The remaining seven or eight are rather obscure. The seventh *akṣara* is clearly *ma*.

[46] The preceding ten syllables have been destroyed.

[47] This *ka* is not very clear.

[48] The stone is chipped off a little to the right side of *ṇi*.

[49] The *ā*-strokes in this portion are not very clear.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN INDEX

The figures refer to pages, n after a figure to footnotes. The following other abbreviations are also used: *au.* = author; *ca.* = capital; *ch.* = Chief; *ci.* = city; *co.* = country; *de.* = deity; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *f.* = family; *feud.* = feudatory; *gen.* = general; *gr.* = grant; *ins.* = inscription; *k.* = king; *loc.* locality; *m.* = male; *mo.* = mountain; *myth.* = mythological; *n.* = name; *off.* = office, officer; *peo.* = people; *pr.* = prince, princess; *prov.* = province; *q.* = queen; *rel.* = religions; *ri.* = river; *s.a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *tit.* = title; *tn.* = town; *vill.* = village; *wk.* = work.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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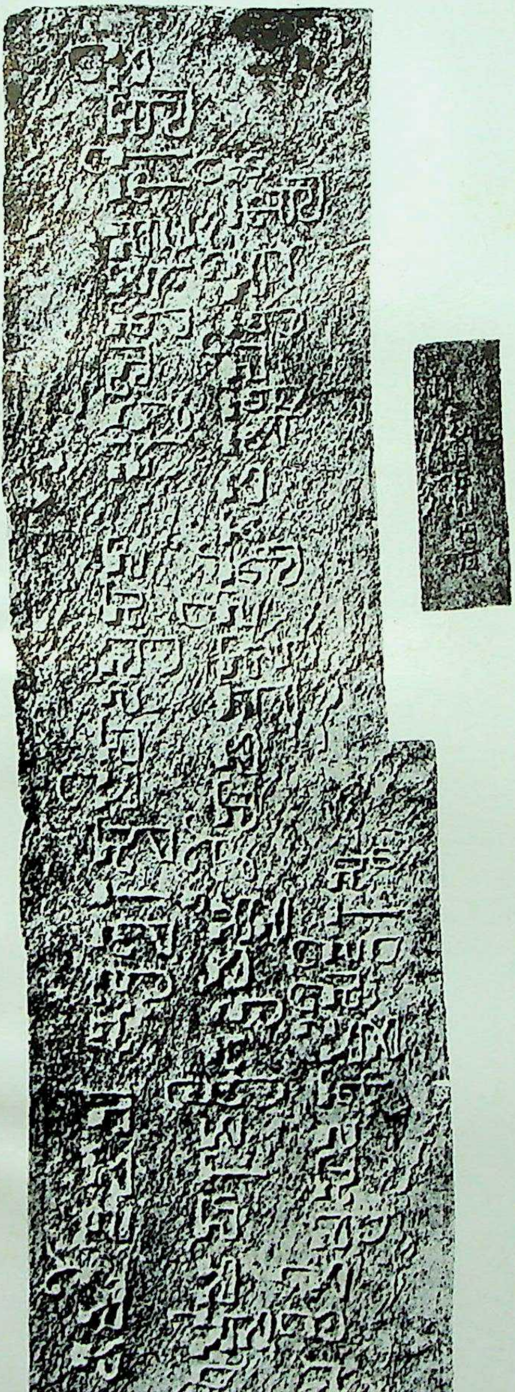


Fig. 1 Cho Dinh Rock Inscription (See p. 12)

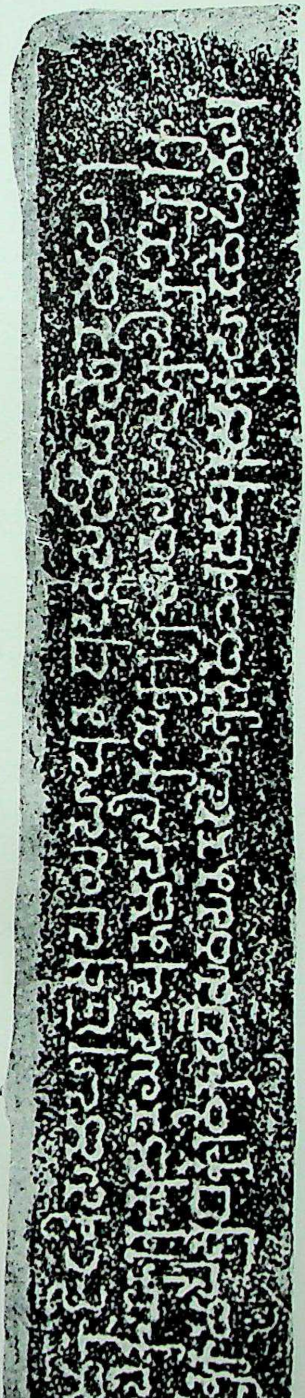
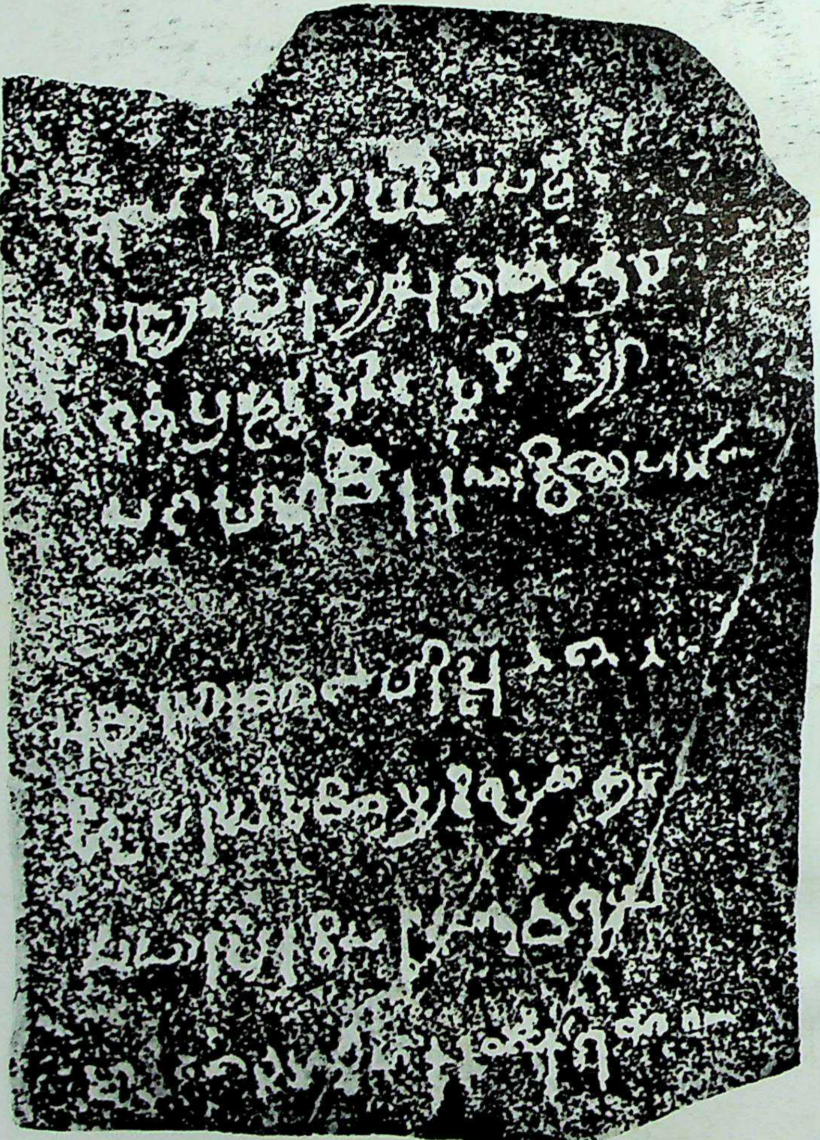
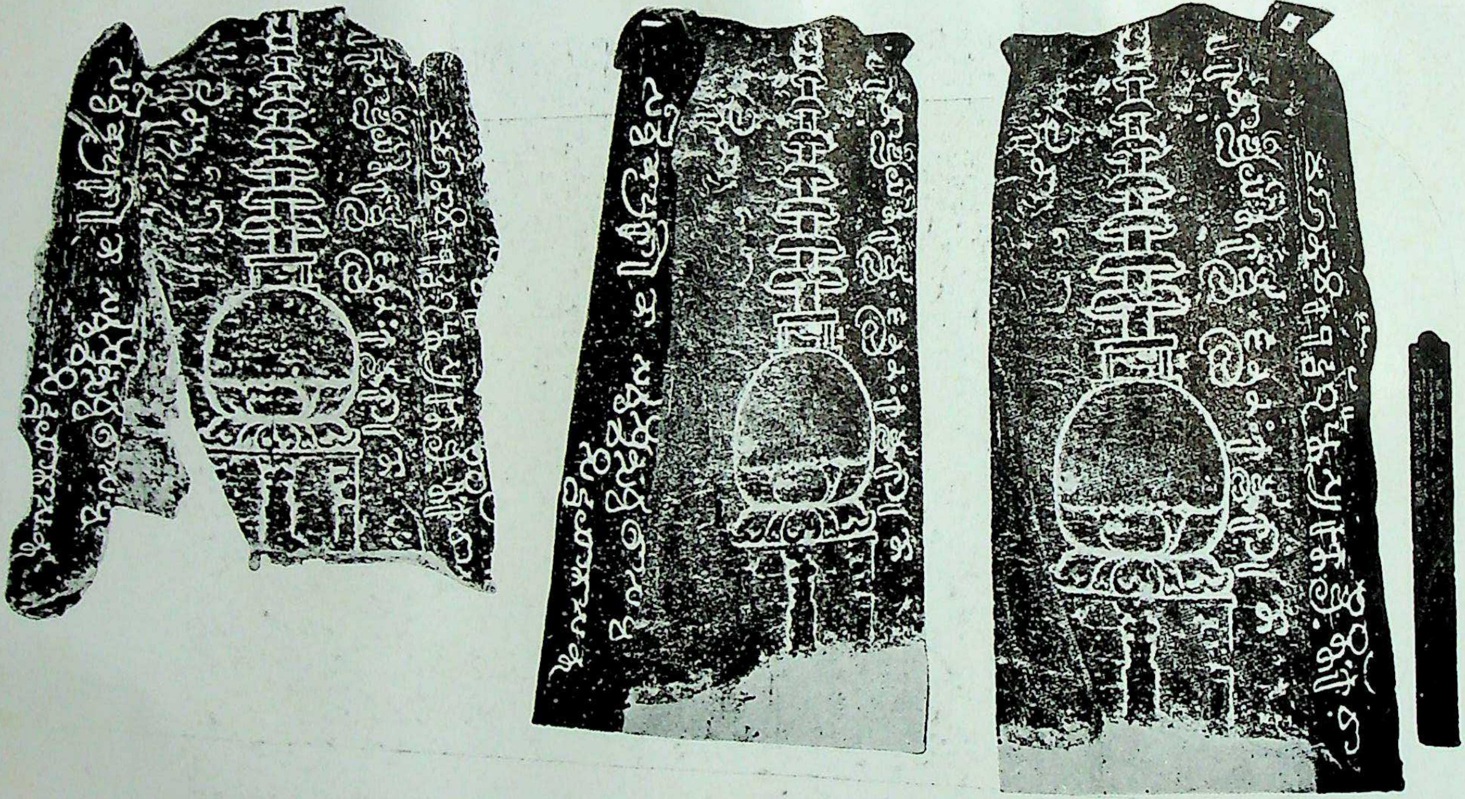


Fig. 2 Ruvanvalisaya Pillar Inscription (See p. 12)



Kuccaveli Rock Inscription (*See* p. 16)



Stone Inscription of Mahānāvika Buddhagupta (*See p.* 20)
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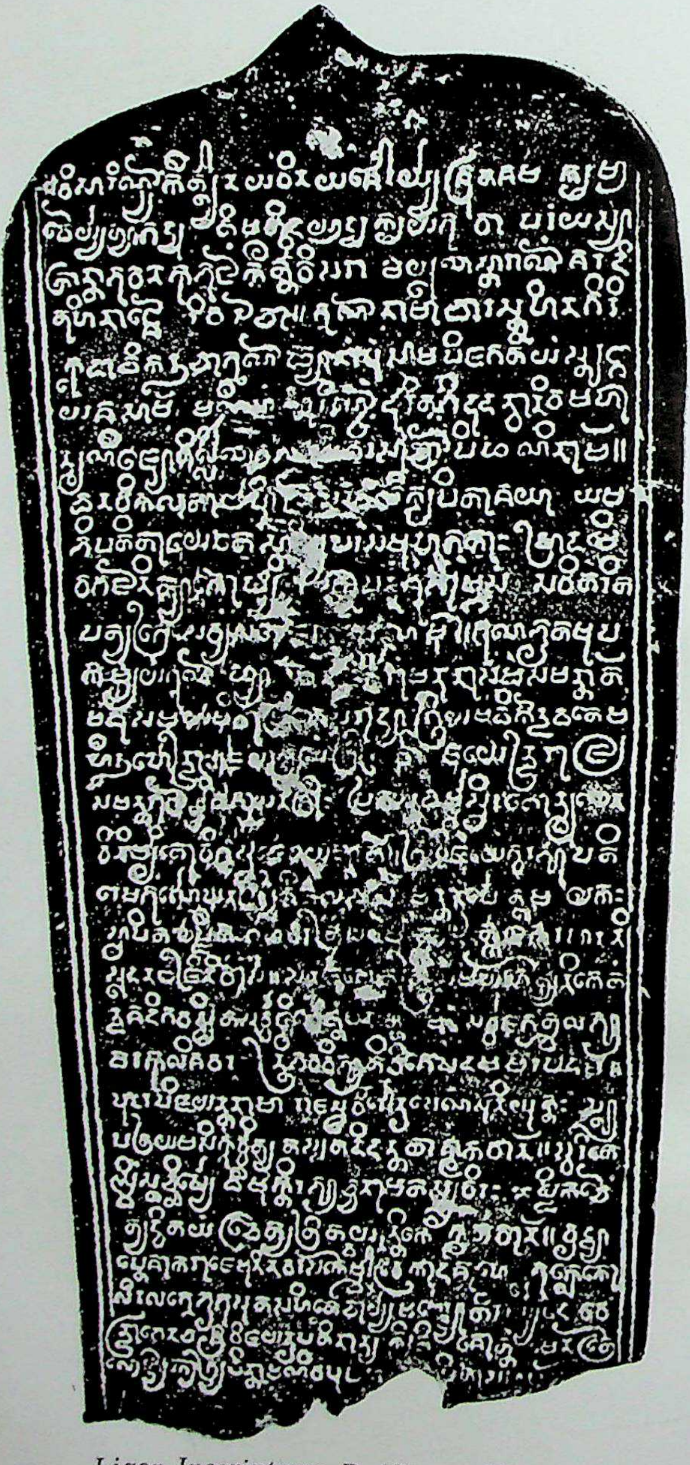

Ligor Inscription: B (*See p. 26*)

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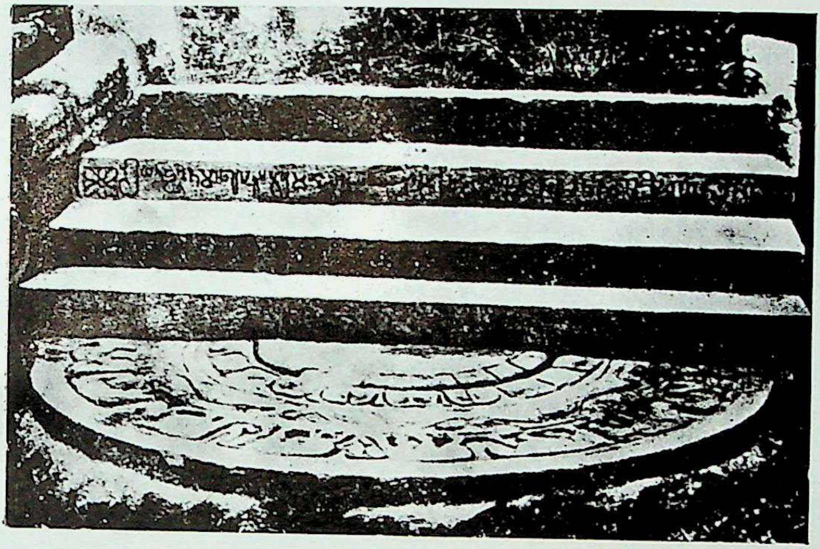
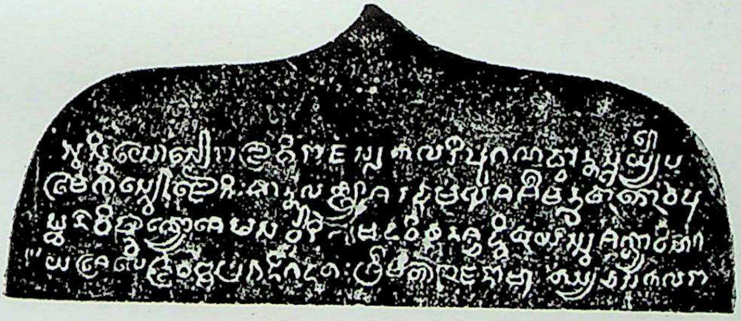


Fig. 1. Pankuliya Stone Inscription (See p. 16)



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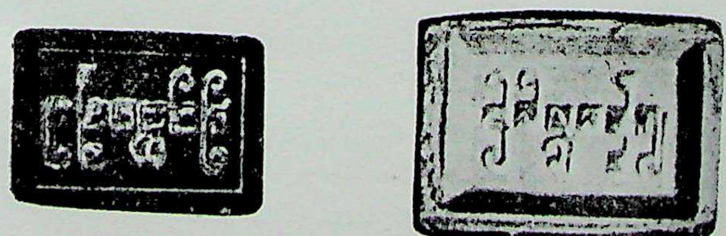

Fig. 3 Seal

Fig. 4 Impression

Figs. 3 and 4. Perak Seal of Śrī Viṣṇuvarman (See p. 35)

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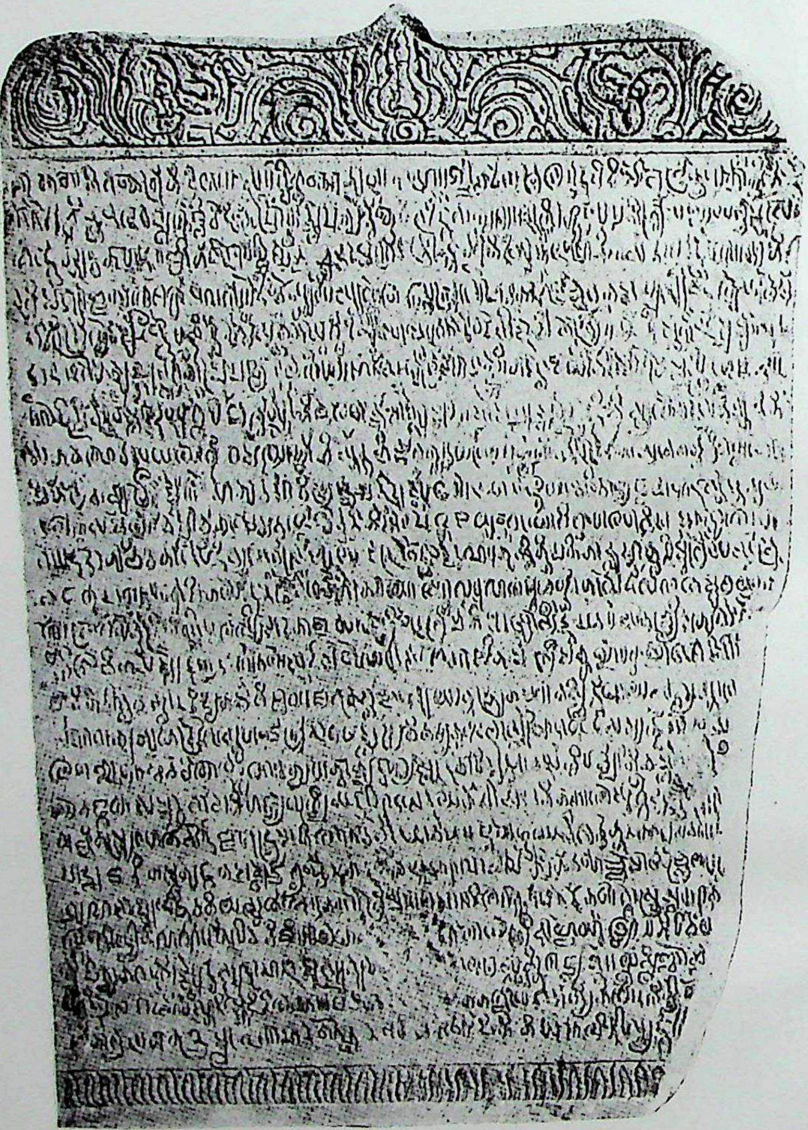

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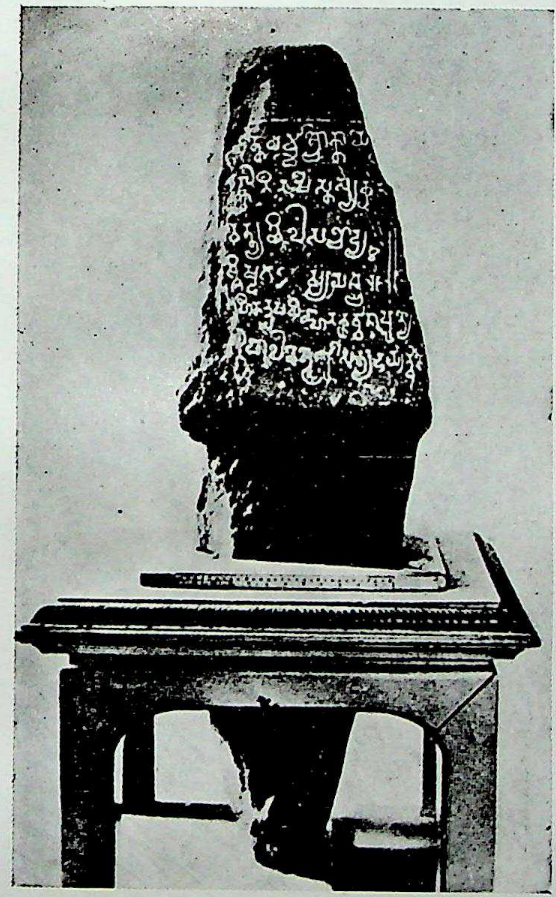

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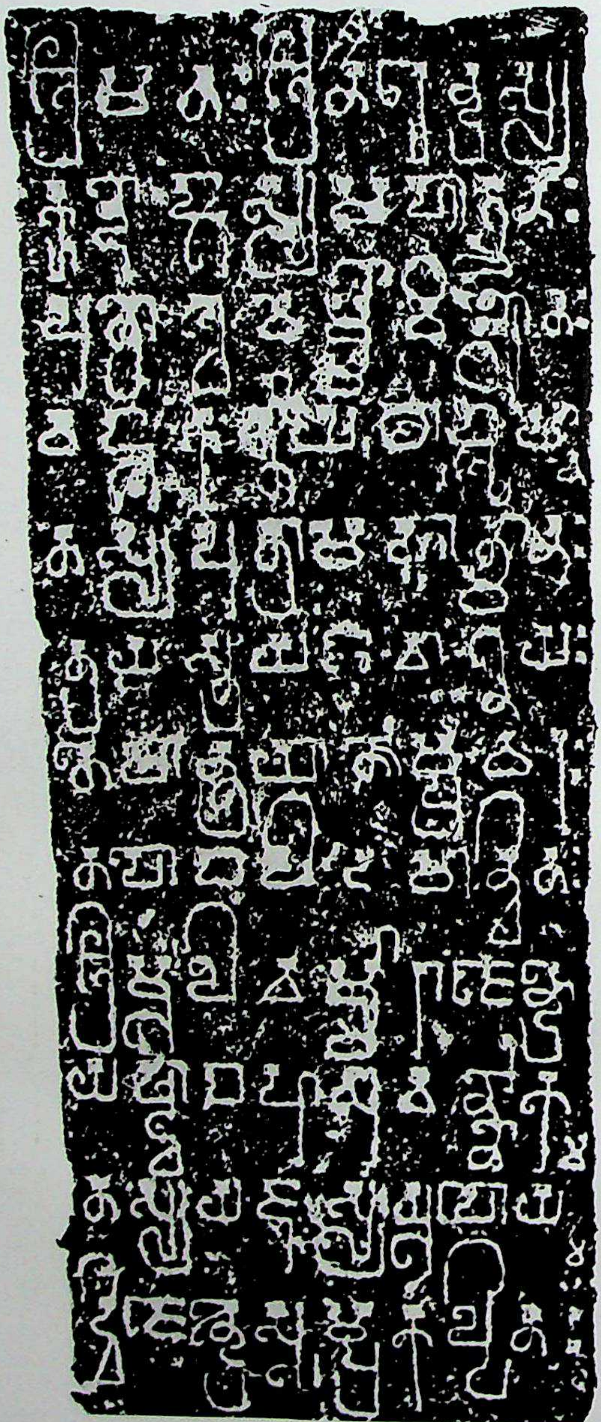
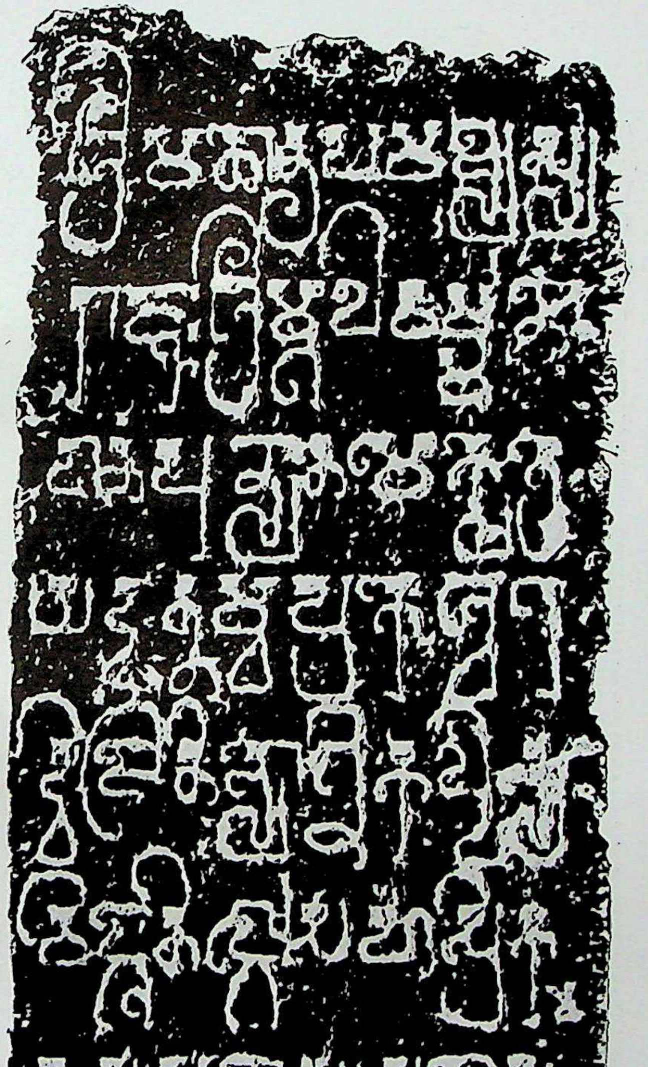


Yūpa Inscription of King Mūlavarman: A (See p. 85)

Plate 9



Yūpa Inscription of King Mūlavarman: B
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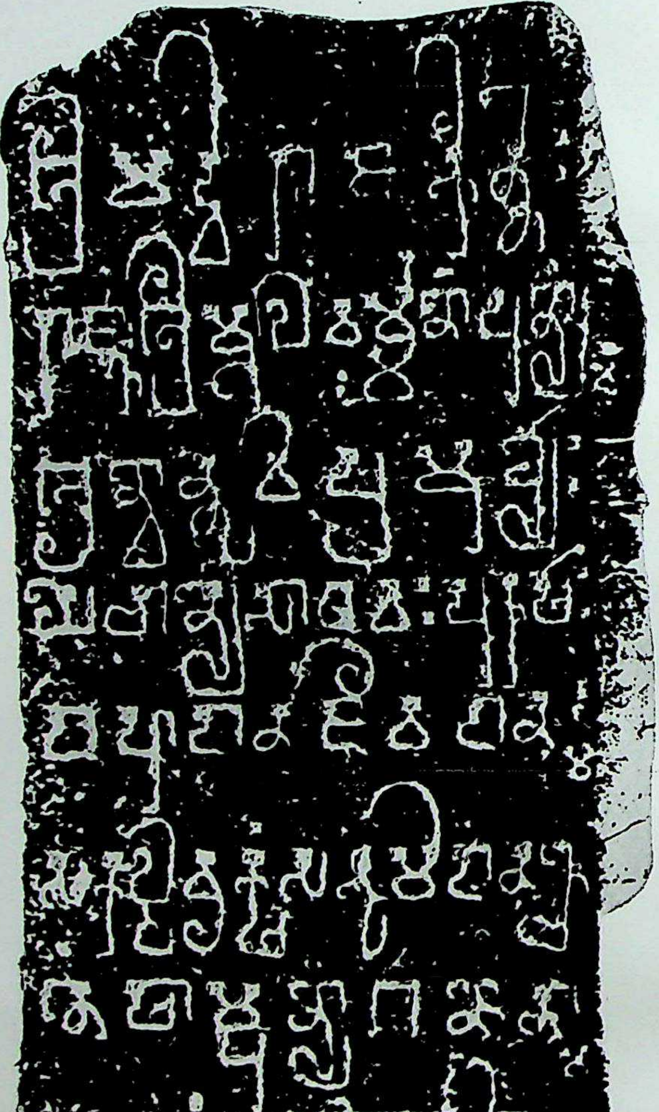

Yūpa Inscription of King Mūlavarman: C
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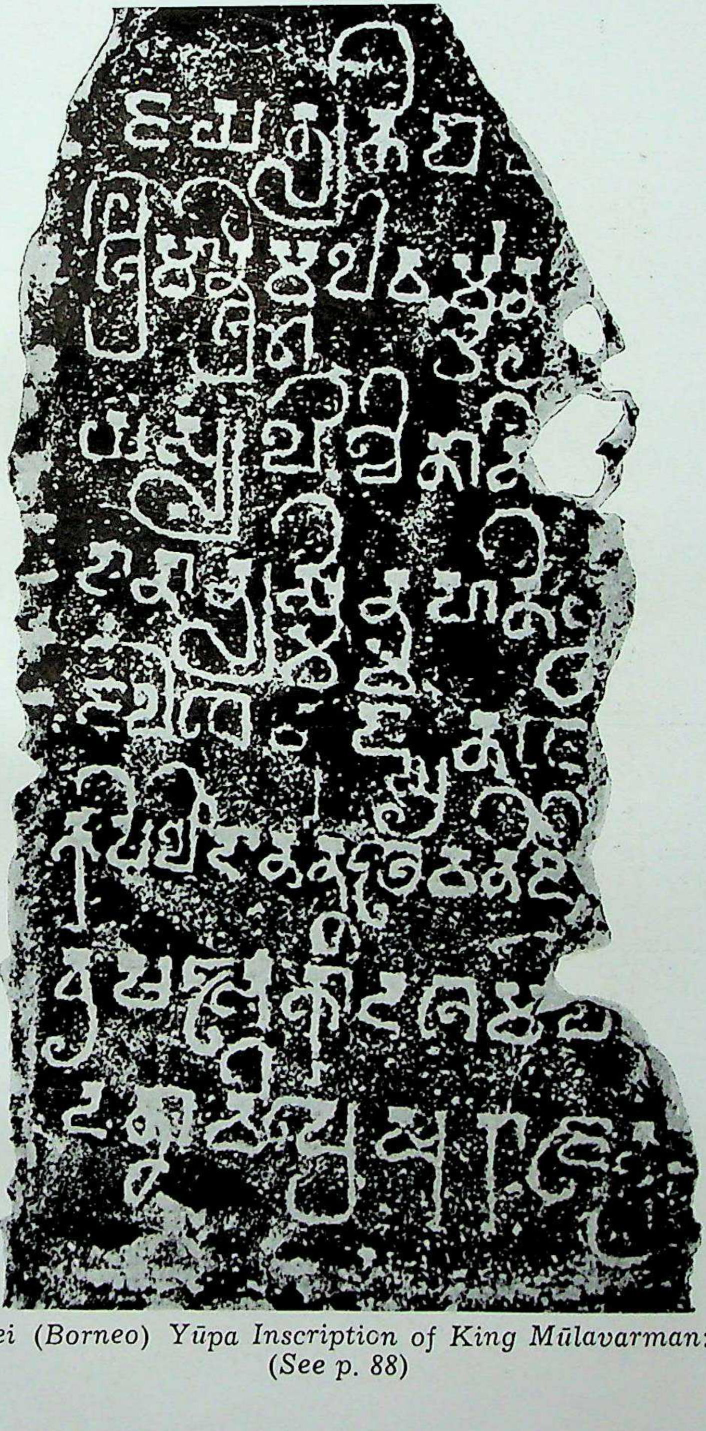

Koetei (Borneo) Yūpa Inscription of King Mūlavarman: A
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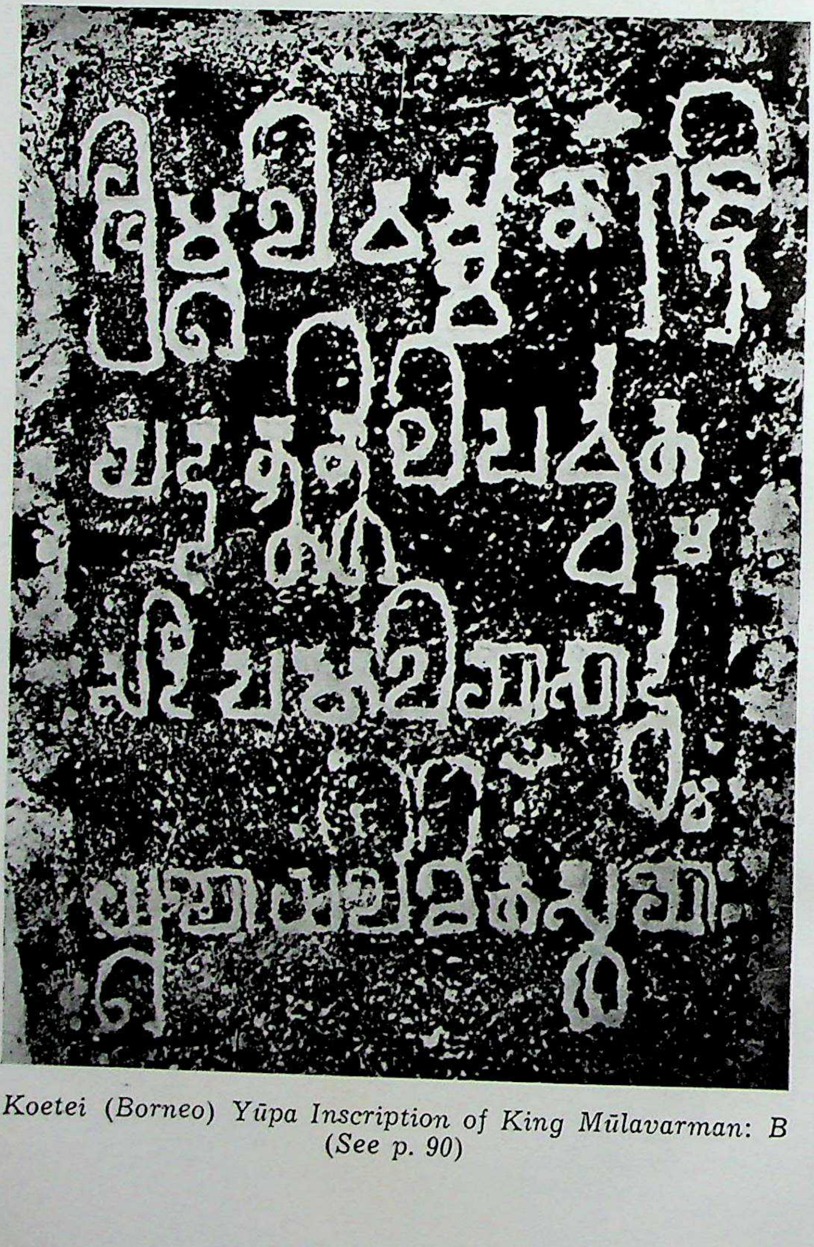

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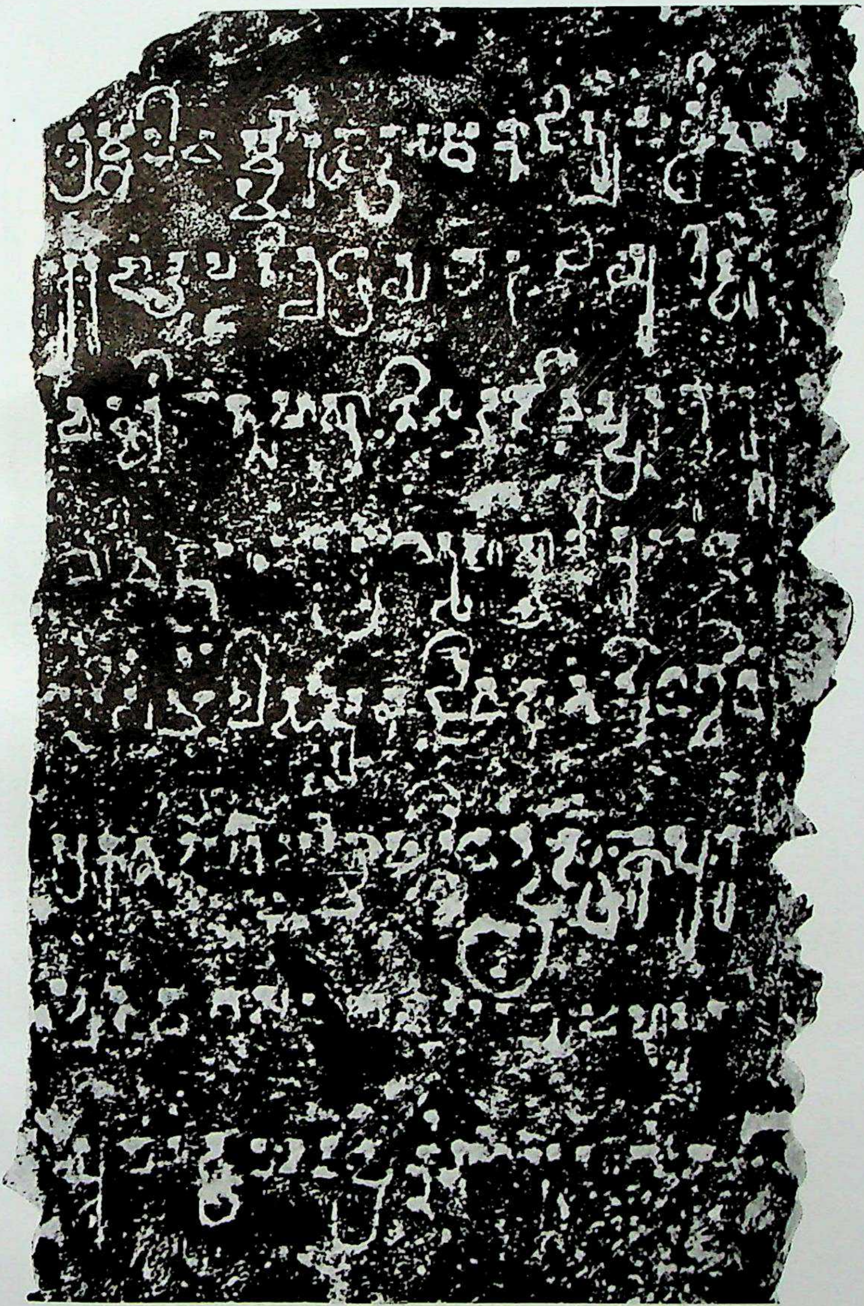

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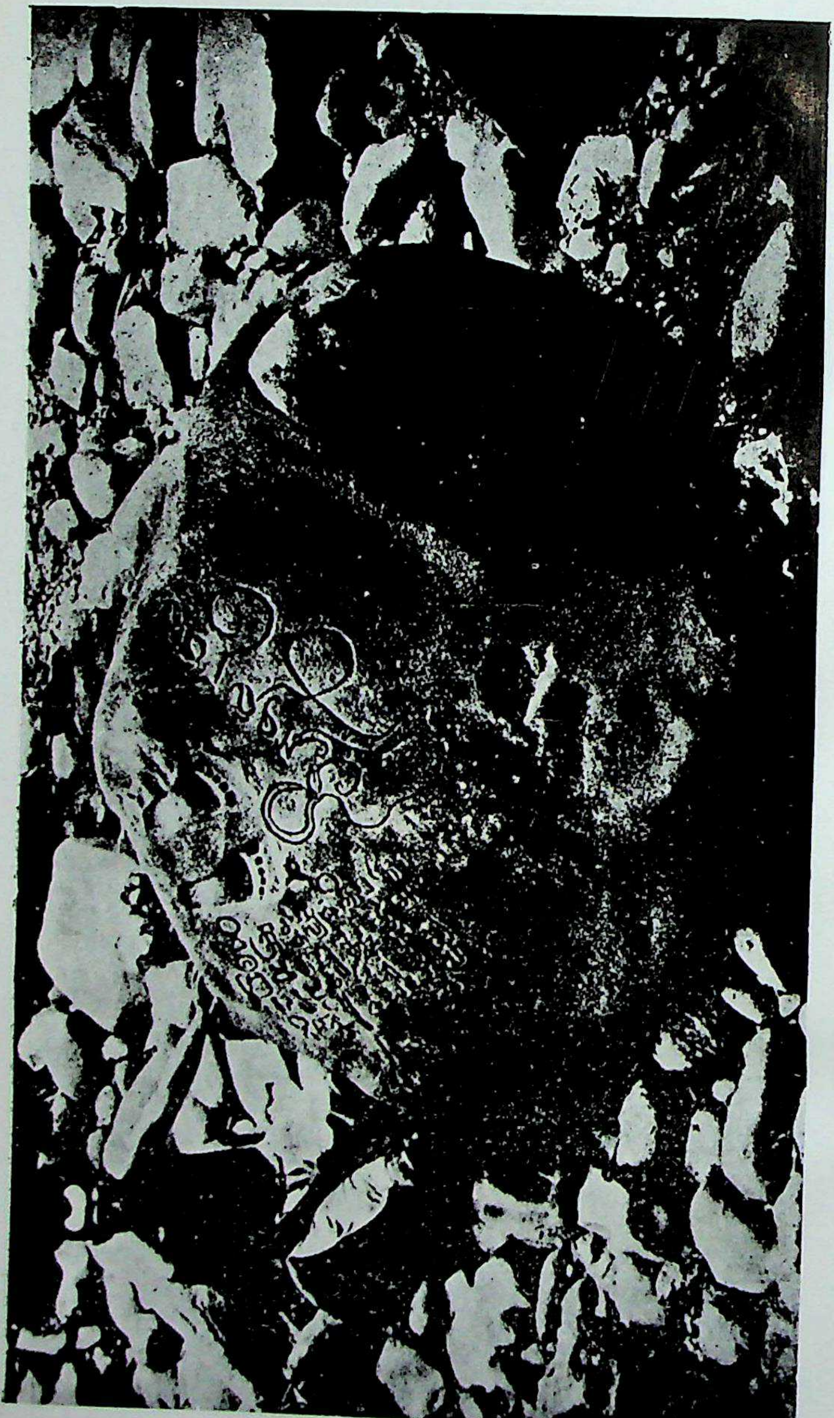
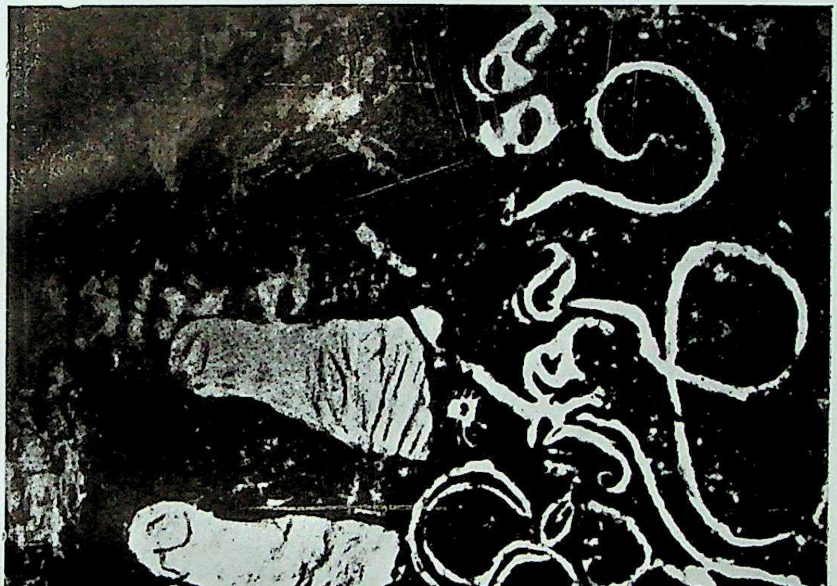
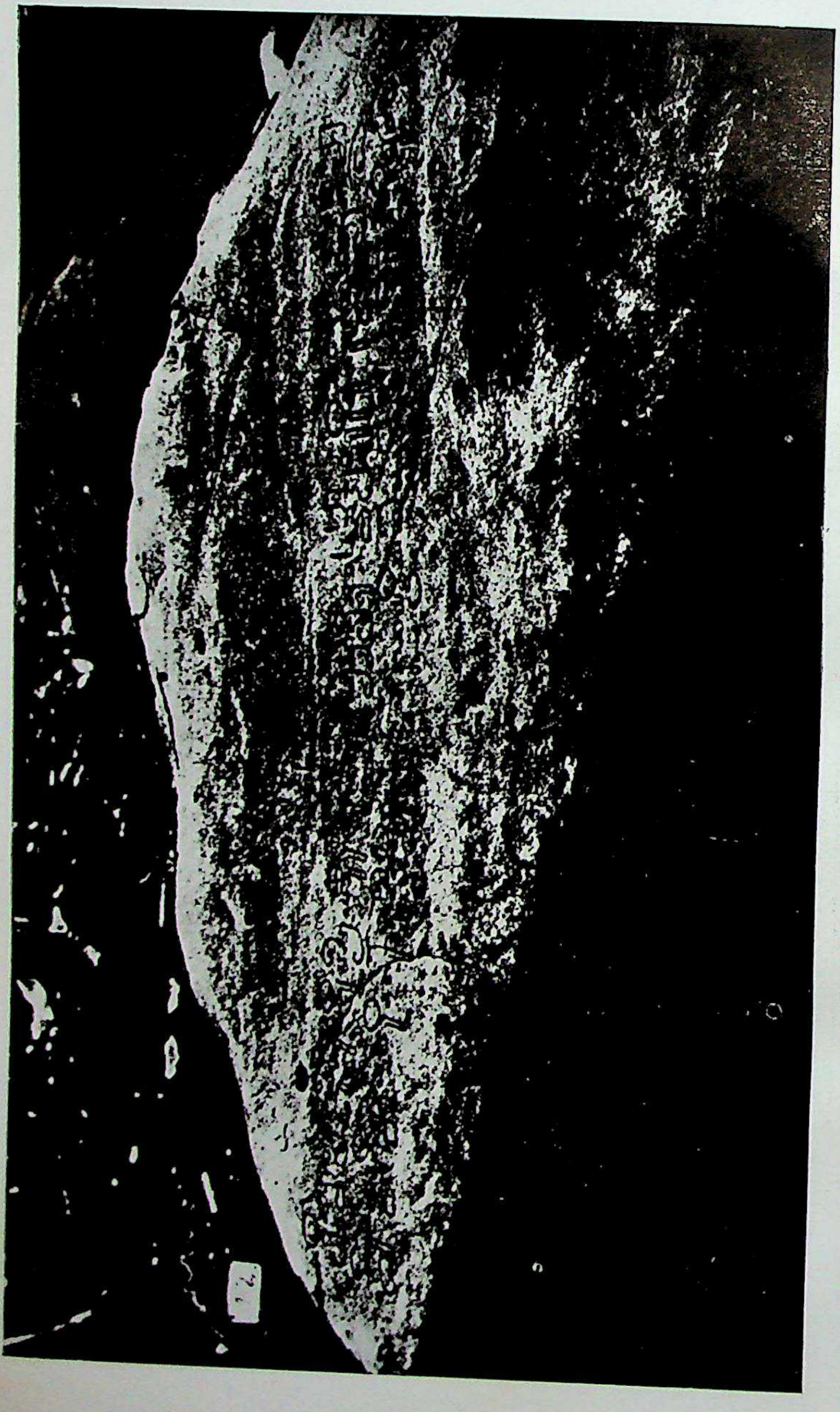


Ci-Arutan Rock Inscription: General view of the rock
(See p. 93)

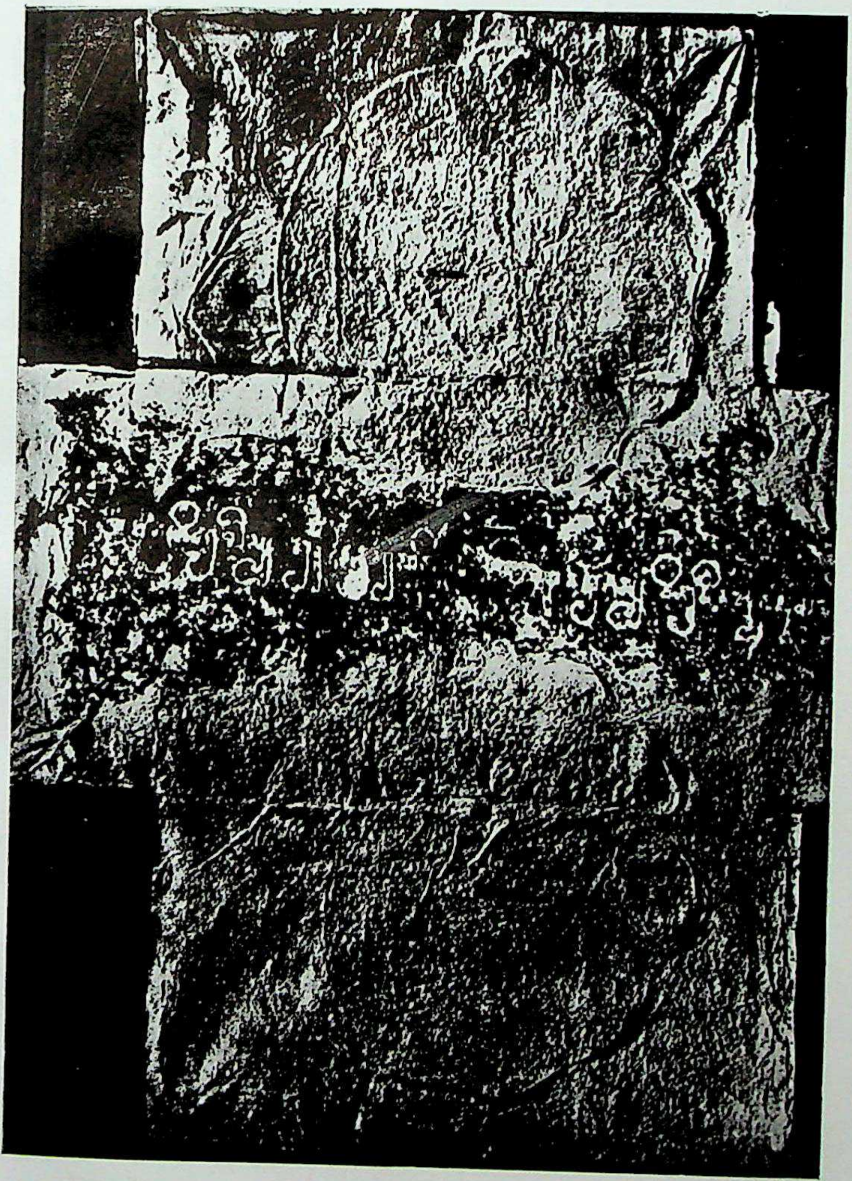


Ci-Arutan Rock Inscription: Close up (See p. 93)

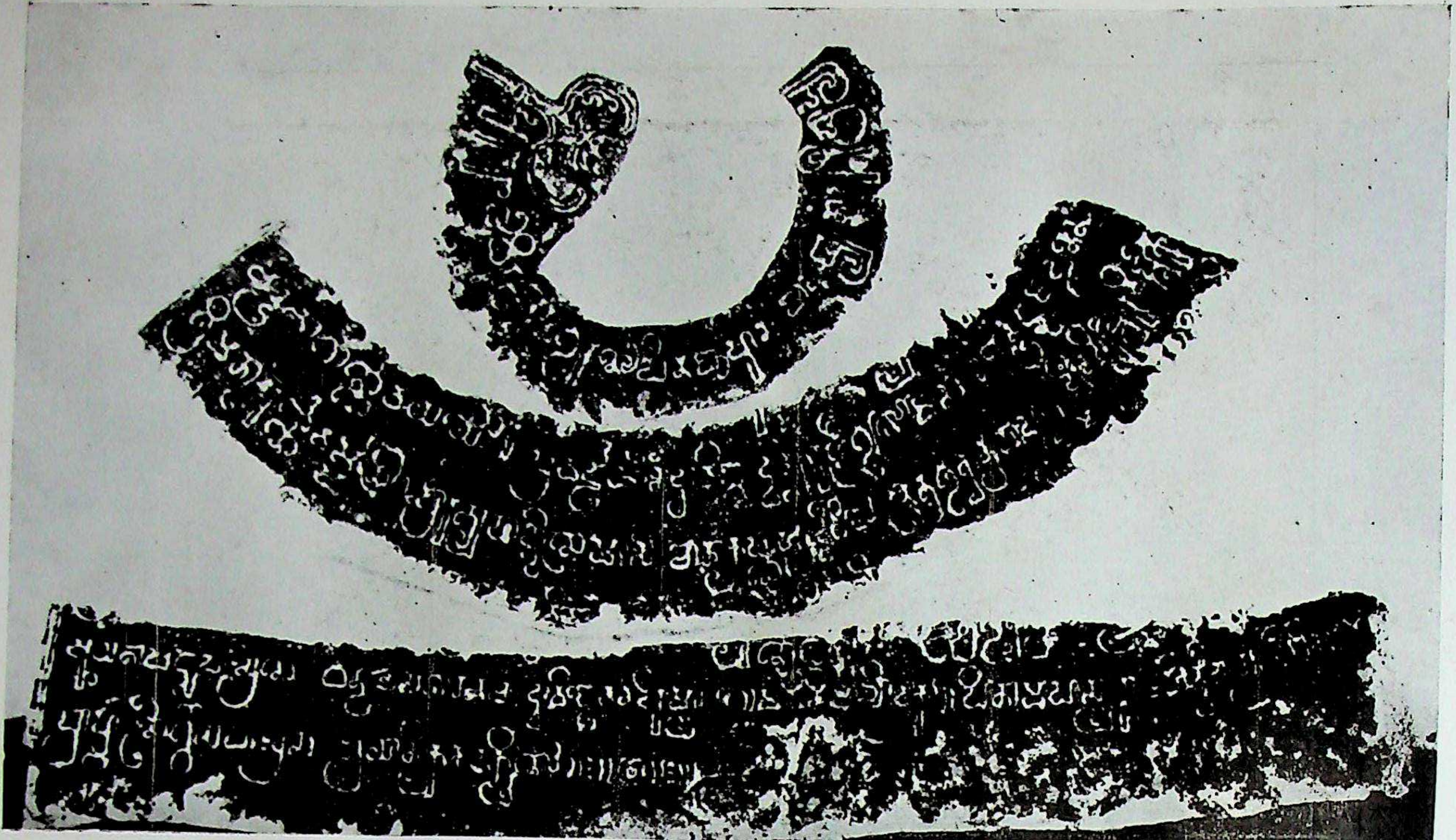
Plate 16



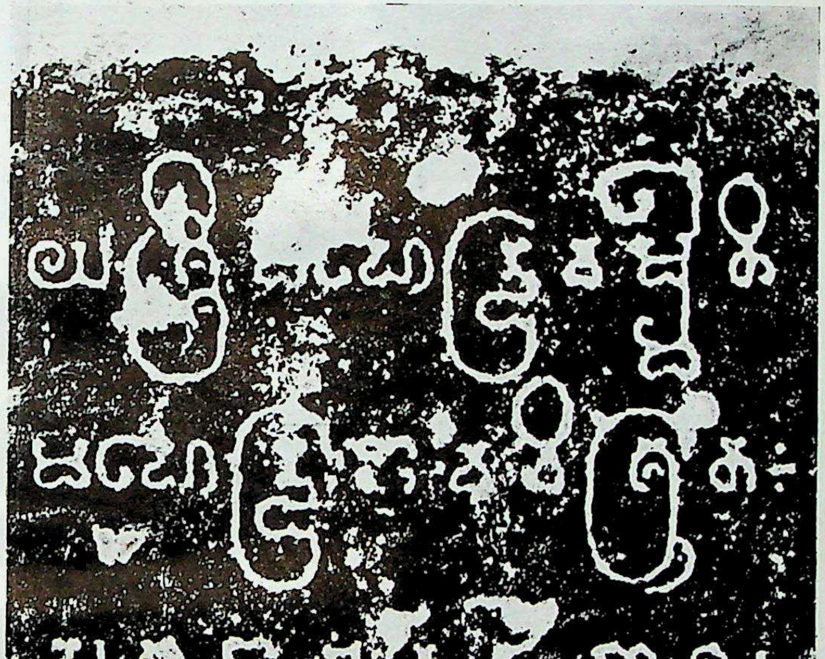
Jambu Rock Inscription of Pūrṇavarman (*See p. 94*)



Kebon Kopi Rock Inscription of Pūrṇavarman (*See p.* 95)

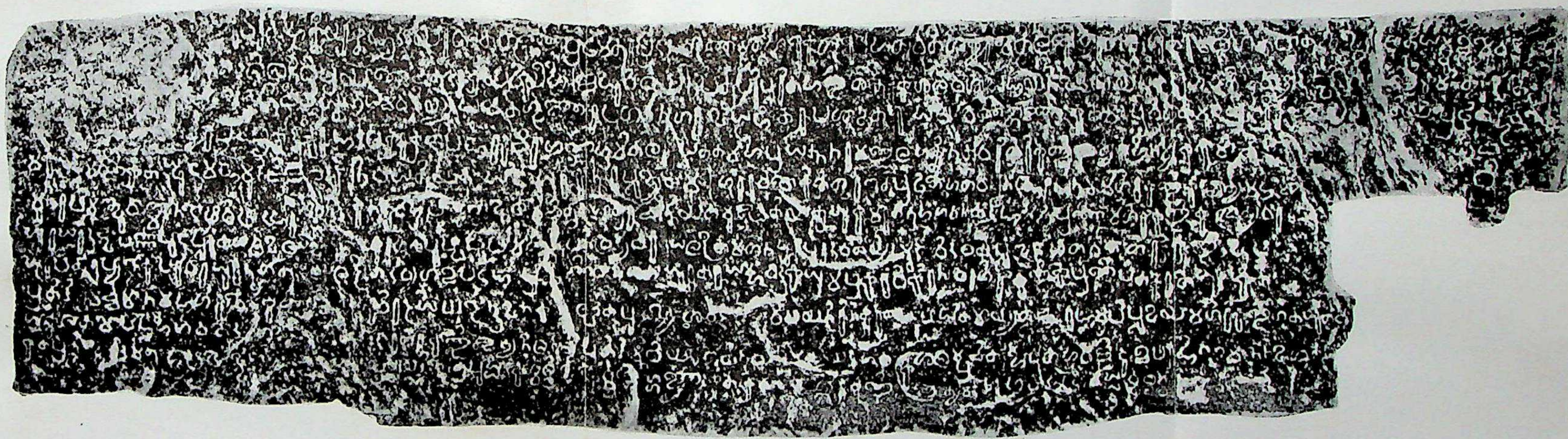


Tugu Rock Inscription of *Pūrṇavarman* (See p. 96)



Bangkok Museum Stone Inscription of Mahendravarman
(See p. 98)

Plate 20



Tiriyay Rock Inscription (See p. 109)

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